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A Preliminary Discourse
By J. Fisher, Sec. of Gloucester.
A PRELIMINARY

DISCOURSE,

SETTING FORTH

The natural Disposition, or instinctive Inclination
of Mankind towards COMMERCE.

THE Powers with which it hath pleased the munificent Creator to form Mankind, are suited to such important Ends, that a wrong Application of them cannot but be productive of great Infelicity; as a right Use of such Endowments is the Source of all the Enjoyments for which human Nature was created. Now these Powers are various, according to the different Ends proposed to be obtained by them; all which Ends center in a joint Happiness. If, for Example, you consider a human Creature as a mere *Animal*, you will find, that he has most of those Instincts which other Animals feel, in order to answer the Demands of Animal Life. But when you take a View of him in an higher Character, as a Member of *Civil Society*, and a Subject of *Moral Government*, you will observe, That he is not only furnished with a Set of *social* Tempers, but also that he enjoys the Prerogative of *Reason* and *Reflection*, to guide each Instinct and Disposition to its proper End. And therefore the general and constituent Principles of human Nature may be thus summed up: Man hath the Appetites of an *Animal*, — the Temper and Affections of a *social* Being, — and the Understanding of a *rational Agent*.

LET us take a View of human Nature under each of these Capacities.

I. As mere *Animals*, Mankind are powerfully incited by various Instincts to provide for their *animal* Wants; which, in general, are much the same with those of other Animals. Only I think it deserves to be

taken Notice of, That Mankind are more deficient by *Nature* than any other Tribe of Beings. For it is obvious, that they are left by Nature destitute of a *proper Covering*, or *Clothing*: And as to *Food* and *Dwelling*, if we consider Men in their mere Animal State, without the Improvements of *Society*, and the Assistance of each other, they will be found less able to make Provision for themselves than any other Creature. Now these are very remarkable Variations in the Ways of Providence, and yet not to be consider'd as real Imperfections or Omissions in regard to Man; but as a most admirable and gracious Contrivance of the Author of Nature to answer great and good Ends; — which, it is hoped, will be more fully shewn in the Sequel. Indeed other Beings, who are only designed for the Uses of *Animal* Life, are not endued with any Qualification but what is necessary for this Purpose: And therefore all their Sagacity and Knowledge shine forth at once. For Instance, the first Nest that is built by any of the feathered Tribe is as curious in its Contrivance, and as exquisite in its Workmanship, as the last: And the Lion and the Vulture do not much improve in the Use of their respective Weapons. In short, the same *original* Plan continues throughout: — Nor do Beasts, Birds, or Fishes discover any Disposition to divide the Labour of the Community into different Branches, or assign distinct Parts to the respective Individuals.

THIS, I think, is the Case in general with respect to the Brute Creation. But if there are any Traces of superior Abilities, they are so few and inconsiderable, as not to deserve a particular Inquiry. Nay, where-soever any Tribe of Animals distribute the Labour of the *Community* into *different* Parts (as is reported to be the Case among the Bevers, Ants, and Bees) it hath been always observed, that there they make some Advances superior to the Condition of mere Animal Life, having a Species of Commerce, and a Form of Government.

BUT if Man had no other Powers but what he receives in common with the *Brutes*, he would not only be *one* of them, but perhaps the lowest and most miserable of all. For, as was observed before, he hath many *Defects* considered as a mere Animal, which they have not: Nay, the least bad Circumstance which must attend such a State, would be the *Levelling* and *Degrading* human Nature to such a degree, that the *social* Relations of High and Low, Rich and Poor, Benefactor and Receiver, Governor and Governed, Learned and Illiterate, would be absolutely unknown.

II. LET us therefore in the next Place consider Mankind as actuated by a Set of *social* and *benevolent* Affections, These social Instincts are,

are, for the most part, the Privilege of Man: For though other Animals *herd* together, (which may be called *conversing*) yet we cannot observe that they are *naturally* inclined to do good Offices to each other. They shew no Disposition to part with any share of their Food or Dwelling to relieve the Miseries of the Hungry and Afflicted, or to shelter their Fellow-Creature from the Pursuits of the merciless Hunter. And when a *Stranger* is introduced among them, they are so far from shewing any Signs of *Hospitality*, that, till Time has familiarized them, they treat him as a common Enemy.

I WILL allow indeed, that all Animals discover, for a Season, the strongest Affection for their Offspring: The Males and Females likewise give many Proofs of a *temporary* domestic Kindness for each other. But these Regards are distinct from what is properly called *social Benevolence*. The Male and Female have a mutual Passion implanted in them for the Propagation of their Species; and they are *naturally* disposed to love their Young, the Females especially, during their *helpless* State, with a most ardent Affection; which Affection vanishes away in Proportion as their Young grow up, and become capable of providing for themselves. Now it is evident, that all this is different from *social* Friendship, different from the Love of *virtuous* Characters, and the Delight that is felt in the *Communication* of good Offices to the rest of the Species, when they either *deserve*, or stand in *need* of them.

MANKIND therefore being thus under the Influence of *social* and *benevolent* Affections, as naturally seek Society in order to gratify these *social Instincts*, as they require Food for appeasing the Appetite of Hunger. And when human Creatures are once brought together, they find a vast number of Advantages in each other by *mutual* Assurances, to which they must have been Strangers in their separate and independent State. Consequently then it is, that the common Labour of the Society is branched out into separate and distinct Parts: Then it is that each Individual chooses a *particular* Course of Life, according as his Circumstances, or *Genius* shall determine his Pursuits. — I mention GENIUS the more emphatically, because some Men are formed by *Nature* to peculiar Employments, being born with *Talents* (which are a kind of *instinctive* Knowledge) for one Pursuit preferably to another: A Circumstance not discoverable in any of the Brute Creation. Therefore among the Human Species some are employed in the several Articles of *Clothing*; others in raising of *Provisions*, and a third Set in preparing Materials and building *Habitations*. Thus are the *first* Wants of Mankind, viz. Food, Raiment and Dwelling, much better supplied by

by dividing the general Labour into different Branches, than if each Individual depended on himself alone for the Supply of them. And these different Parts of the common Labour are nothing else, in other Words, but distinct *Trades* and *Manufactures*; and may therefore be considered as the *first Draught*, or *Rudiments* of *Commerce*.

BUT if Society is the best Means of procuring a Supply for our *animal* or *natural* Wants, it creates a multitude of *artificial* Needs, which may be called *social*, because both their first Rise, and subsequent Increase, must be ascribed to Society. Now these *artificial* Needs are more or less extensive, according to the several Ranks and Stations in Society, the different Improvements, Customs, Education, and other Qualities of Mankind. And as our present *secular* Happiness appears to arise from the Enjoyment of superior Wealth, Power, Honour, Pleasure, or Preferment, SELF-LOVE, the great Mover of created Beings, determines each Individual to aspire after these *social Goods*, and to use the most probable Means of obtaining them.

2 THUS therefore the Passion of Self-Love operates with much greater Force, when excited by such a long Train of Objects, than it possibly could do, were Men strangers to the artificial Wants, the Refinements and Decorations of social Life. And yet were this Passion to proceed without Direction or Controul, it would in a great measure defeat its own Ends. For Self-Love is narrow and confined in its Views, and admits of no *Sharers* or *Competitors*, where-ever it can exclude them. Therefore when you see a Set of Individuals forming *Combinations* and *exclusive Societies*, you may observe, that the Members of this exclusive Company are still *Rivals* and *Competitors* among themselves; and after having excluded the rest of their Fellow-Subjects, would, in the next Place, exclude each other, *if they could*. And though, in Fact, all such *mutual Exclusions* must end in *mutual Poverty*, so that even *Self-Interest* is a *Losser* in the End by these pernicious Schemes, yet the Mass of Mankind ever did, and ever will proceed in this Way, *as far as they have Power*: They will always regard the present Moment, and be blind in respect to distant Consequences. Hence it is, that *Monopolies* are formed, and *Charters* granted, under the ridiculous and absurd Pretence of the Public Good, when, in Fact, private Advantage is the only Point aimed at. Hence it is, that unjust Combinations are sanctified by positive Laws, and those very Exclusions are stiled RIGHTS and LIBERTIES, by which other Men have their *Rights* taken from them, and are *denied* the Liberty of being useful to themselves, and serviceable to their Country.

INDEED

A Preliminary Discourse.

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INDEED I grant, that the social Instinct of *Benevolence* is some check upon this selfish *monopolizing* Principle; but it is so very feeble, that it would be quite ineffectual to prevent the Mischiefs arising from inordinate Self-Love, were there no stronger Curb to rein it in: For the Love of Self is implanted in Mankind much more strongly than the Love of Benevolence; according to the English Proverb, *Self loves no Fellow*.

III. THEREFORE REASON and REFLECTION must be called to the Aid of the *social* and *benevolent* Principle. But what is the office of Reason? — Not surely to *extinguish* Self-Love; that is impossible: And it might be questioned whether it would be right to attempt even to *diminish* it: For all Arts and Sciences, and the very Being of Government and Commerce, depend upon the *right Exertion* of this vigorous and active Principle. And were it once restrained, or greatly weakened, human Nature would make but feeble Efforts towards any thing great or good. Nay, in such a Case, the social Temper itself would want a Spur; and all the benevolent Affections being destitute of their proper Incitement, would be very faint and languid in their Operations. Consequently, the main Point to be aimed at, is neither to extinguish nor enfeeble Self-Love, but to give it such a Direction, that it may promote the public Interest by pursuing its own: And when the very Spirit of Monopoly will operate for the Good of the Whole.

AND if this is the proper Business of *Reason*, consider'd in the Abstract; the Reason or *public Wisdom* of a *State*, or *Community* is particularly called upon to pursue such a Plan. Indeed it can execute no other consistently with its own Interests, and the Good of those who are under its Protection. Divert therefore the Pursuits of Self-Love from vicious or improper Objects, to those that are commendable and virtuous; Grant no Privileges to Indolence and Ignorance; Give no Assistance to the ingrossing Schemes of Monopolists; but raise a general Emulation among all Ranks and Professions in Things relating to the public Good; And let superior Industry and Skill, Integrity and Virtue, receive all your Incouragement, because they alone deserve it: — Then such a Government must have good Subjects, because it has removed the Temptation to be bad ones; The Country will be blessed with Plenty, and abound in Commerce, by means of the Industry of its Inhabitants in their respective Callings; And the Subjects of such a State must feel the good Effects of its Influence, and be happy in each other, because their several Pursuits, Interests and Happiness do all coincide.

Now

Now this politic Direction of the Pursuits of various Individuals to one common End, the Study of Philosophers, and the Aim of every wise Legislature, will be found to be nothing more than a strict and scrupulous Observance of Christian Morality. For this *truly* social System furnishes us with the strongest Motives towards restraining inordinate Self-Love, having so linked our Duty and Interest with that of the Community, and prescribed such Regulations for our Conduct and Behaviour, that a Man cannot act the Part of a good *Christian*, without being good and useful, and a public Blessing in every other Relation of Life.

THUS far as to the Uses of Reason in framing or directing Systems of *National* Commerce: And the Reflection I would draw from the Whole is this, — That when the *auxiliary* Motives of Reason are called in to the Aid of *social* Love, or diffusive Benevolence, this latter becomes, in a good degree, a *Counter-Agent* to inordinate Self-Love. So that the *Circulation* of Commerce may be conceived to proceed from the *Impulse* of two distinct Principles of Action in Society, analogous to the ^{projectile and central forces} ~~centrifugal and centripetal~~ Powers in the Planetary System. But unerring Wisdom being the Guide and Director of these Powers in the heavenly Bodies, causes that *Constancy* and *Regularity* in their Motions, which is never observable in the Affairs of Commerce. And why is that? — It is because the *Circulation* of Commerce being ^{only directed by the Reason or Wisdom of Man} ~~only directed by the Reason or Wisdom of Man~~, therefore subject to all those Impediments, Obstructions and Irregularities, which result from the Vices and Extravagancies, the partial Interests, the false Conceptions, and mistaken Policy of Mankind.

HOWEVER, from this general View of the Subject, the Evil does not appear wholly without a Remedy; at least, if it will not admit of an *absolute* Cure, it may be so greatly *palliated*, as to render the present Scene of Things very desirable; which is as much as can be expected during an imperfect State. Let us therefore enter upon the ensuing Work with the following Maxim strongly upon our Minds, *viz.* That universal Commerce, good Government, and true Religion, are nearly inseparably connected. For the Directions and Regulations of each of these, are no other, than to make private coincide with public, present with future Happiness. And whoever is conversant with the Affairs of the World, cannot fail to observe, That whenever the Parts of this *extensive* System have been separated by the Arts or Folly of Man, Religion has sunk into Superstition or Enthusiasm, Government has been turned into Tyranny and *Machiavelian* Policy, and Commerce has degenerated into Knavery and Monopoly.

projectile & central forces

at best /
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whims,

THE Elements of COMMERCE,

AND Theory of TAXES.

INTRODUCTION.

AS the natural Disposition of Mankind to *Commerce* hath been set forth at large in the *Preliminary Discourse*, and as *Self-Love* is known to be the great Mover in human Nature, it may not be improper to begin with the following Observation; *viz.* That every Legislature should consider these two Principles as the Foundation of their future Proceedings, or as Materials in the Stores of Nature for them to work upon. They cannot create new Powers or Faculties in human Nature; but they can cultivate and improve those that are already subsisting: They can, by a proper Application of their Influence and Authority, prune away Luxuriances, and check the Progress of *unbearing* Branches, at the same Time that they promote and encourage the Growth of every Thing good and useful in Society. Now when the legislative Powers act upon this Plan, they will consider, That a lasting and extensive *National Commerce* is no otherwise to be obtained, than by a prudent Direction of the Passion of Self-Love to its *proper Objects*, — by *confining* it to those Objects, — and there giving it all possible *Assistance* and *Encouragement*. The Passion of Self-Love therefore must be taken hold of by some Method or other; and so *trained* or *guided* in its Operations, that its Activity may never be mischievous, but always productive of the public Welfare. When Things are brought to that pass, the Consequence will be, that every Individual (whether he intends it or not) will be promoting the Good of his Country, and of Mankind in general, while he is pursuing his own private Interest.

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BUT Self-Love is no otherwise to be taken hold of in the Case before us than either by having recourse to PENAL LAWS, or by establishing a JUDICIOUS POLITY. The Business of Penal Laws is to terrify or punish; but the Use of a judicious Policy is to *incline and incourage*: The one is to *deter* the Multitude from offending, the other to lead them by their own *free Choice* to virtuous Industry. This being the Case, it is easy to see which Method deserves the Preference, — especially in a *free Country*. Indeed the Multiplication even of *Penal Laws* would be of no Service, unless you armed the Magistrate with a proportionable Power to put them in Execution: And this, in other Words, would be giving him something too like a *Carte Blanche* to act as he pleases. Such a degree of absolute Power is too great a Trust to be reposed in *Man*: And perhaps is safe and beneficial only in the Hands of that Great Being, whose *Wisdom and Goodness are over all his Works*.

WHEREFORE the only Thing desirable in our Situation, is a *judicious Polity*: — Which may be farther described as a *preventive Regimen* of State, whereby the Temptations to Vice are removed, and such Incouragements given to Virtue, as would induce a Man to execute the proposed Regulations of his own free Choice, without the Appearance of Restraint or Compulsion. Thus a Traveller may be said to *choose that Road*, which the *Public* hath laid out for him, when he finds that the *By-Roads* are deep, intricate, and disagreeable, and the other straight, easy, safe, and good: — He prefers the public Road, not because he is *compelled* by any penal Statute, but because he finds his own Advantage in his Compliance, and cannot find it any other way.

THIS may serve to explain in some measure the great Difference between *Polity* and *Law*: But if any thing is yet wanting to complete the Description, it may be farther suggested, That the one is like a beautiful Machine, which regulates and adjusts its own Motions; and the other a clumsy imperfect Work, which is always out of Order, unless the Maker stands by to correct and amend it. Now from these Hints and Illustrations it plainly appears; that the Influence of the one must be much more extensive and universal than that of the other. And indeed thus it comes to pass, that the *distinguishing* Characteristics of a People chiefly depend on their *National Polity*; whereas the general *System of Laws* makes no such Difference. Antient and modern *Rome*, for Example, do not differ much from each other in the main Tenor of their Laws, relating to the common Principles of Justice and Equity:

THE Subject has hitherto been considered only in a *general View*; viz. That Self-Love should be so directed as to promote its own, and the public Interest at the same Time; and that *Polity* is a properer Method than *Penal Laws* for giving it this Direction. — But the immediate Inquiry comes yet to be resolved; viz. In what Particulars doth the Public Good consist? And how shall the Passion of Self-Love be directed so as to produce the happy Effects intended? — In answer to the former Part of the Inquiry, it may be proper to observe, That the Good of any State doth plainly arise from the *Increase, Employment, and Morals* of its Subjects; because a *numerous, industrious, and virtuous* People, cannot fail of Plenty and Content at Home, of Respect and Influence Abroad. And in regard to the Method or System of Polity, How these great and good Ends are to be obtained, this is to be the Subject of the ensuing Discourse.

PART I.

*Containing certain Polities for increasig the Number
of People.*

THE Necessity of attempting some Polity of this Nature, will abundantly appear from the following Considerations.

I. WHERE a Country is thinly peopled, it is impossible to promote a brisk and general Circulation of Industry and Labour, by reason of the Distance and Dispersion of the People from each other, and the Consequence of that, their Want of Rivalship and Emulation : — So that the greater Part of those few Inhabitants must lead a fauntering, lazy, and savage Life, thereby making near Approaches to the State of *mere Animals*, the most wretched of all others for an human Creature to be in. This Observation is confirmed by Experience ; For in every

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Country,

On this subject see a
pamphlet entitled,
Observations on the late
present conduct of the press
— to which is added, Observations
concerning the increase of
man kind, peopling of coun-
try. London 1755.

Country, extremely thin of Inhabitants, the People are proportionably poor and miserable, and lead such Lives as are but a few Removes from the brute Savages of the Woods and Mountains. Suppose only Ten Thousand Inhabitants left in *Great Britain*, and what would be the Consequence? — These few Inhabitants would soon degenerate into *British* Savages, correspondent to the Clans of the Highlands of *Scotland*, or the *Indians* of *America*. Suppose the Country better peopled, and then the Evil would lessen in Proportion. It is moreover observable, That in Country Places, where there is a Scarcity of Inhabitants, one Trade will not be sufficient for a Man's Subsistence, but several distinct Occupations must be joined together in order to obtain a bare and wretched Support: — By which means it comes to pass, that there cannot be that *Quantity* of Work performed, as where every one exercises and improves himself in one particular Calling: And as to the *Quality*, or Workmanship itself, that must necessarily be clumsy, rude, and imperfect.

II. WHERE a Country is thinly peopled, the very Activity, or in other Words, the *exciting Cause* of that Activity, *viz.* the Self-Love of the Inhabitants, will take a wrong Turn. For in such a Situation, the Figure that *Commerce* can make, must be very mean and contemptible: So that Country Gentlemen, who at the best do not entertain a very kind Opinion of the Advantages of Commerce, are confirmed in their Prejudices against it, and choose rather to vie with each other in the Dangers of the Chace, or the Pretensions of Birth and Family, and the Length of their Pedigrees, than in giving Incouragement to the Increase of low-born Tradesmen and Mechanics.

III. WHERE a Country is thinly peopled, the Property of Lands will be the more easily ingrossed, and intailed in a few Families; by which means the Land-holders become more absolute and despotic over their Vassals. In this Case, Numbers are kept in Poverty and Wretchedness to raise the *comparative* Grandeur of one Family, and flatter the Pride of their petty Tyrant: — I say, the *Pride* only; for as to the *Comforts* of Life, he will not be on a Level with a common Tradesman in a populous and industrious Country; because he cannot have the Convenience of Markets, the Supplies of Foreign Trade, the Variety of useful Manufactures, or even the Pleasures of Society: And all that he has to put in the Scale against these *real* Disadvantages, is the imaginary and ungenerous Satisfaction derived from the greater
Misery

Misery of his wretched Dependents. Whereas Commerce, as it is calculated to extend Industry, Happiness, and Plenty, equalizes Mankind more than any other Way of Life; and at the same time that it connects them together in Bonds of *mutual Interest*, it renders them FREE. Trade and Vassalage, Commerce and Slavery are, in their Natures, repugnant to each other.

IV. A COUNTRY thinly peopled, has neither the *Strength*, nor *Riches* it would have, were it better inhabited; so that it cannot make that Figure in Peace, or War, it ought to do. For Numbers of People are the Strength, as Industry is the Riches of a Country. Nay, this very Depopulation, unless preventive Remedies are used, and a proper Polity introduced, must occasion a farther Diminution of Inhabitants; because several Persons will be obliged to seek for Work in other Countries, as not having sufficient Employment, or a proper Consumption of the Produce of the Lands, or the Labour of the Manufacturer among themselves. The Lands must lie waste, where there are no Markets; and the Artificers cannot be employed without Customers.

Now when a Country, blessed with the Advantages of Liberty and Peace, commodiously situated, and happy likewise in a mild and healthy Climate, with a Soil productive of great Quantities of good Materials both for foreign and domestic Commerce; — When such a Country increases very slowly in the Number of its Inhabitants, which might have increased very fast, we must conclude, that some Canker in Polity, or lurking Disorder, is preying upon the Vitals of that Commonwealth; which, if not timely prevented, may bring on the most fatal Consequences.

Now though *Great Britain* enjoys many signal Advantages, yet she will be found to labour under fore Difficulties at present, through a bad System of Polity, and the mistaken Notions of public Welfare, and National Commerce, in the following Respects;

I. BECAUSE the Marriage State is loaded with many Taxes and Expences, from which a Single Life is free. For this Burden has the same Effect in its Operations, as if the Legislature had actually passed a Law to discourage Marriage, and incourage Celibacy. For the Father of a numerous Family, in paying the several Duties and Excises laid on those Commodities which his Family consumes, is *fined* as it were in those respective Sums, from which a Batchelor is exempt: And yet the Batchelor is not put under any Discouragements of another Nature, whereby

whereby the Scale might be brought even, or rather inclined to favour the Matrimonial Side. Nay, as Places of Diversion are continually multiplying, a Single Person with 200*l.* a Year, can make a more *modish* Appearance, and partake of a greater Variety of Pleasures, and consequently appear in a Condition *more desirable* to the Generality of Mankind, than a married Man with twice that Sum.

II. SUCH an Inducement to Celibacy must be greatly prejudicial to good Morals; because an Increase of Temptation will always cause an Increase of Vice. And again, a general Corruption of Morals is fatal to the Populousness of a Country in various Ways. Thus the Evil operates back upon itself, spreading and increasing as it goes on. Nay, as the Sexes will naturally associate together in the single State, and form Parties of Pleasure, the very least bad Consequence that can happen, is a giddy, thoughtless Turn of Mind, and an utter Indisposition for the Discharge of those domestic Duties, on which the Good and Happiness of Society greatly depend.

III. THE Country grows thinner of Inhabitants in those Parts of the Kingdom where the Practice of destroying Cottages prevails, and joining several small Farms together to make one *great Farm*: For every Cottage or Farm-House thus destroyed, occasions the Loss of so many laborious, working Families to the Country. The same bad Effects are also produced by the unlimited Power of ingrossing Landed Estates; by the Power of intailing them upon the Male Heir; the Power of settling them all upon the Eldest Son at the Marriage-Contract; and lastly, by the Common Law of the Land, which gives all the Landed Estates of *intestate* Persons to the First-born Son, without shewing the least Regard to the rest of the Children. These Monopolies of Land must occasion, according as they prevail, a great Diminution of People. — Besides, it is always observable, that in Proportion as the Property of Lands are more equally divided, in the same Proportion the Ground is better manured, cultivated and improved: And a great number of Farms, and middling Landed Estates, thick set together, not only occasion a very great Number of Inhabitants, but also render it necessary that many of the Children of such Inhabitants should be brought up to Trades and Manufactures. And I will venture to add, that Manufacturers of this Class are the most useful, and the least subject to Corruption of Morals. — But more of this hereafter.

IV. THE

IV. THE Nobility and Gentry of *England* are deterred from entering into the married State during the *Prime* of Life, because they can have little or no Command over their Children, when they advance towards Years of Maturity. And a Father is by no Means desirous of being treated disrespectfully by his Son, merely because he is not likely to make a Vacancy as soon as the young Heir could wish him. Yet this Consequence, bad as it is, too frequently happens to a middle-aged Man, as his Son draws towards the Years of twenty one. For at that Period of Life (such is our wrong Polity) the Parental Authority is almost at an End, and the Son can shew an undutiful Behaviour with Impunity.

THEREFORE to avoid this disagreeable Circumstance, the Father sends his hopeful Heir to travel into Foreign Parts, at the Age of Sixteen or Eighteen, a Season of all others, in which it is most improbable he should make any real Improvement; an Age in which he is too old for a School-boy, and too young to be able to make any useful Observations on Men or Things, being destitute of a proper Stock of Knowledge to form Comparisons between his own and foreign Countries, and without knowing the Difference between the Religion or Laws, the Polity or Government, the Commerce or Taxes of one Country from another. In short, he is strictly and literally a *Traveller*, that is, a *Passenger* through various Countries, and the greatest *Stranger* to his own. However, as he stays Abroad for several Years, this is some Comfort and Relief to his Father.

BUT in general, as I said before, Men of Fashion do not marry in the *Prime* of Life. And it is observable, that they stay later in *England*, than in any other Country in *Europe*, — as if it were on purpose to be ready to move off the Stage, when their Successors come on. But alas! if they continue single during the *Prime* of their Years, in what manner do they spend their Time? — Generally in all the Excesses of Riot and Debauchery: so that those of higher Rank, who ought to set the Example, seldom think of raising a Family, till they are fitter for an Hospital than the Bridal Bed. What an Offspring! what Members of Society, or Defenders of their Country, are we to expect from such Parents!

V. THE very Liberty which the *English* enjoy above other Nations, becomes in the Event, as Matters are now circumstanced, a means of dispeopling the Country. For it corrupts their Morals, hurries them
into

into Vice and evil Courses, shortens their Days, and destroys the natural Fertility of the Sexes. In one Word, If the regular Course of Providence hath taken off its *Thousands* by natural Death, the Gallows and Electioneering, Spirituous Liquors and Debauchery have destroyed their MILLIONS.

VI. OUR numerous Colonies, extensive and distant Navigation, perilous and unwholesome Trades, are great and continual Drains upon us.—Add to all this, That *Holland, France, and Spain* keep great Numbers of *British* Troops in their Pay. Moreover, almost all the States in *Europe* draw off as many as they can of the Artificers, Sailors and Manufacturers of these Kingdoms, into their own; whilst we are so far from retaliating the like upon them, that we are for discouraging those few Foreigners who would voluntarily come over.

THE way to supply these Losses, and to put a Stop to many of the Evils here complained of, is to establish such a Polity as shall give Incouragement for increasing the Numbers of People both by Matrimony, and by the Introduction of industrious Foreigners.

C H A P. I.

A Polity for the Incouragement of the Married State.

MARRIAGE is not only the exprefs Appointment of Divine Providence, but will be found upon Examination to be the only *effectual* Means (whatever licentious Talkers may pretend) for the Continuance and Preservation of the Human Species. This will appear, if we consider, that Nature has implanted in other Animals only a *temporary* Instinct towards each other; and in the Gratification of it hath given neither *Choice*, nor *Preference*, nor fixed any Ideas of *Beauty*, or *Merit* in the Male or Female Objects, as far as we can discover. Therefore Nature herself seems to have forbid any proper *Marriage*, or *lasting* Cohabitation among other Tribes of Animals. And this universal Law of Nature is universally observed throughout the Brute Creation. But in regard to the Human Species, the great Author of our Being hath taken a quite contrary Course, having implanted Appetites, which are *not periodical*, and given Ideas of *Merit* and *Beauty*, of *mental*

as well as *corporeal* Excellence. Judge therefore how absurd it must be to reason from the Nature of Brutes to the Nature of Men, when these very Natures are in *direct Opposition* to each other. In short, the very Circumstances in which Men and Women find themselves, suggest to them this plain Lesson, That they were designed by Providence not only for *brutal*, but *social* Converse. To which End they have Capacities and Inclinations given them to choose and prefer, to esteem and improve one another.

THE same Argument might appear in another Light by considering the Property of the Marriage Bed, as the Foundation of Civil Society, and consequently of all the Advantages resulting from it. For, if a Man has no reasonable Security that the Children imputed to him are his own, what Motive has he to extend his Care and Concern beyond the Period of his own Life? And yet it is a most certain Fact, that the Progeny of the Human Species are in a more helpless State than those of any other Animals yet known in the World: For they not only require to be nursed and reared a much longer Time, than is necessary for the Young of any other Creature, but must be also clothed, housed, educated, and enabled to get a Livelihood in some Trade, Business, or Profession; otherwise they will not be fit to fulfil the Part incumbent on them as Members of human Society.

Now the Way to render Marriage a Matter of universal Choice, and the Aim of both Sexes, is,

I. To cause a Law to be enacted, That no Persons shall either elect, or be elected to any Post of Honour or Profit throughout the Kingdom, but those who either are, or have been married: And with regard to conferring Titles of Honour, and to the Disposal of such Civil Employments as are lucrative or honourable, but not elective, they may likewise be subject to the same Regulations. As to any Objections that may be made against such a Law, the like may be raised against every Proposal calculated for the public Good; every legal Disqualification whatever having been observed to bear hard upon particular Persons: And were such kind of Objections to be admitted, they would tend to prevent all new Laws from ever being made, and repeal all the old ones now in being.

II. It is proposed, That all Persons shall be adjudged to be *Minors*, till they arrive at the Age of *Twenty Five Years*,—unless they *marry* before that time, *with the Consent* of their Parents or Guardians, and so be admitted to be of Age at the present Period of *Twenty One*. And

in case they should marry *against* the Consent of Parents or Guardians, between the Years of twenty one and twenty five, the Marriage itself shall be deemed *firm* and *valid*, but the young Person shall still be a *Minor* in Law, till the full Age of twenty five; that being the general Date from which a *Majority* should commence. And indeed in most other Countries, the usual Time of *Majority*, as the celebrated Marquis of *Halifax* well observes in his *Miscellaneous Tracts* *, is *twenty five*. And it would be difficult to alledge any Reason why it should be earlier among us: For surely, as the Marquis says,—*It is not that we are earlier Plants than our Neighbours*. One thing is certain, That there are more Fortunes spent, more Constitutions ruined, and bad Principles infused into the Minds of young Men of Fashion between the Years of twenty and twenty five here in *Britain*, than in all the other Parts of Life. That *commercial* People the *Dutch* think it full soon for their Youths to be of Age at *twenty three*: And yet they do not lay the same Temptations in the Way of the *eldest* Son to be *riotous* and a *Spendthrift* that we do; because they divide their Substance much more equally among their Children, than is done in *England*.

III. It is proposed, That the Statute made in the fifth Year of Queen *Elizabeth* against Persons exercising any Mystery, Craft, or *mechanic* Trade, who have not served an Apprenticeship for seven Years, be repealed as to *married* Men, but remain in force against *Batchelors*. The Statute itself is one of those which has the Public Good for its Pretence, but was really meant to serve the base Ends of private Interest and Monopoly;—in which even the Self-Interested themselves were grossly deceived: For this Statute, by being universal in its *Restraint*, and confining almost all Trades alike, excludes *Customers* as well as *Rivals*, so that in fact every Person is hurt, and no body benefited.—As to a Zeal for the Public Good, this Principle could never lead any Man, in his Senses, to exclude the *Industrious* and *Ingenious* from the *Common Rights* of Society: And yet the Framers of this Statute had plainly nothing else in View. For they knew full well, *from Fact and universal Experience*, That Nature herself has formed certain Persons for certain Trades, and given them such Knowledge by *Instinct*, as no human Artist could communicate by Instruction: And it is very remarkable, That not only all new Inventions, but almost all the Improvements in Arts and Sciences were the Discoveries of those, who had not served a *regular Apprenticeship* to the Business. Why then should such Men be debarred from

* Cautions and Considerations for choosing Members of Parliament, *Article IX*.

from following their *natural* Genius, and making a *proper* Use of their *Talents* for their own, and their Country's Welfare? Besides, what is it to the Wearer of a Pair of Shoes, for instance, whether the Maker served seven Years or not?—By *wearing* them he himself becomes the *best Judge* of the *Goodness of the Work*: And if they are good, he will buy again of the *same* Maker; but if they are not, it is no Consolation to him, That he has bought *bad Shoes* of a *regular bred* Shoemaker, who is *free* of the Company, has walked in a Procession, and wore a fur Gown. However, since the Statute is made, and has been long in force, and since the Prejudices of Mankind are obstinate things, and not to be overcome at once,—the most advisable Method seems to be, To graft a good National Polity upon this bad Law, rather than absolutely repeal it, and by making it subservient to the Promotion of Matrimony, to *draw Good out of Evil*.

IV. IT is proposed, That *married* Men shall be *free*, not only to work as Journeymen, but also to set up all Sorts of *mechanic* Trades in every City and corporate Place whatever, without *Fee*, or Acknowledgment in any Shape or Form. And to make this Proposal go down the better with those Persons, who pique themselves upon the *imaginary* and *fallacious Distinction* (*Right* I cannot call it) of being *Freemen*, it may be enacted, That the Privilege of hanging out *Signs*, *Shewboards*, or *Names*, and of keeping *open* Shops (that is to say, A Shop with a Bulk to it, and without Glass Windows) be confined to Citizens and Burgeses; and that all others be content with displaying their Names and Goods within-side of the Glass.

V. IT is proposed, That *married* Men shall be free to reside wherever they please, with their Wives and Children, without regard to Parish Settlements or Certificates;—provided some substantial Person (an Inhabitant in the Parish to which they come) shall give Five Pounds Security to the Overseers of the Poor, or the proper Officer, That such *new Comers* shall not be chargeable to the Parish for three Calendar Months after their Arrival. Such a Security may possibly be expedient on many Accounts: And as it would serve to blunt the Edge of Opposition, it might be considered as the Basis of a new Regulation concerning Parish Settlements, wherein Cavilling and Contention could have no Place. For the very Date of the Bond would be *one* authentic Proof, whether the Person or Family in question had resided upwards of three Calendar Months or not; and consequently whether in-

titled to a Parish Maintenance, in Case of Sickness, Disability, &c.—But if any Parish admitted a Person or Family to reside among them for a longer Space than *six Weeks*, without this *Caution*,—be that at their own Peril; and they must take the Consequence upon themselves, in Case the Stranger should become a Burden. Thus would every Parish know what they had to trust to, and the Poor would never be without a Settlement.—As to the present Set of Laws concerning Paupers and Parish Settlements, they are equally absurd and unjust; nor is there any *one* good Consequence resulting from them.

In the first Place, the Parishes themselves, for whose Benefit these Laws were intended, are so far from receiving any Advantage, that they are greatly hurt by them. For by their means every Parish is put into a State of War with the rest of the Kingdom; and if a Man hath an Estate in two Parishes, he is frequently obliged to join in this unnatural War against his own self concerning Parish Settlements. Besides, suppose even that a Parish, now and then, prevents the Incumbrance of a Pauper and his Family, by means of these Laws;—do not other Parishes the same? that is, If *Bristol* prevents the Incumbrance of a Pauper coming from *York*, will not *York* make the like Retaliation upon *Bristol*? Where then is the Advantage to either?—Not to mention that these Parish Refusals and passing of Paupers are necessarily attended with great Expence, and perhaps with Law-Suits which cost ten times the Sum in question. To these Absurdities there is another, if possible, yet greater; *viz.* That one Parish is frequently obliged to be at the whole Expence of maintaining a poor Person, and another shall receive the Benefit of all his Labour. In his Infancy he is a Burden and Expence; when he grows to Maturity he leaves his Native Place, and works as a *Journeyman* or a *Labourer* for Years together, without gaining a *legal* Settlement; but when he is taken Sick, or is past his Labour, he is sent home again to his original Parish, who are obliged to receive him, and to maintain him as long as he lives. What can be the Charm in old Customs which infatuates the Minds of Men to such a Degree, that they cannot see the most palpable Absurdities, whereby their immediate Interest is so greatly injured?

In the next Place, if the Parishes themselves are such Losers, the Public must be so in all Capacities.—Not to mention, That in a Commercial State it ought to be the constant Aim of the Legislature to continue Matters in such a Manner, that every Hand should be employed, and none kept idle that are either willing or able to work. But how can this be effected, unless there is either sufficient Work
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provided for the Poor at home, at *all Times and Seasons*, (a Supposition too extravagant to be admitted) or the Poor be suffered to seek for Employment where-ever they can find it? Besides, there are many Trades which are only *temporary*, and in their own Nature *periodical*:—others have a *Glut* of Business at one time, and none at all at another; either therefore the labouring Poor ought to have *double* or *treble* Wages for the Time they can have Work, in order to lay up against the *long Vacation*, or they should be permitted to seek for some Employment or other, at every Place and in every Season.

LASTLY, If the Parishes and the Public are Losers, what must the Poor be, who are the Persons immediately affected? And indeed the Inhumanity frequently practised on these Occasions is quite shocking to relate. An industrious Man shall be forced from his Business and his Bread, where he is enriching his Country by his Labour, and be sent to starve with a large Family upon *Parish Pay*, merely because he is not a *legal Parishioner* in the Place where his Business lies, and may possibly be chargeable. If he demands a Certificate from the Parish to which he *legally* belongs, they will certainly deny him, in hopes he may gain a *legal Settlement* elsewhere. And if any Parish finds that a Labourer or a Journeyman has by chance obtained a Certificate of his Settlement, they will not let him contract, as a Covenant-Servant, for longer time than eight, ten, or at farthest *eleven* Months, in order to have it in their Power to send him to his original Parish whenever they please. Thus are the Poor treated in regard to their Labour;—and even as to *Marriage*, the Overseers and the Justices frequently exercise a Power, for as to Right, in reality they have none, of forbidding the Banns of poor Persons, lest they should bring a Charge upon the Parish. Now all these, and indeed many more Impositions of the like Kind, arose originally from the despotic and tyrannical Notions of *Baron* and *Vassal*, which answered in former Times to the modern Ideas of *Planter* and *Slave*;—Ideas very unfavourable to the Increase of Inhabitants, and to the Circulation of Industry in every View. The Baron, the Planter, and the Parish-Officer act all upon the same Principle, when they would restrain their Vassals, Negroes, or labouring Poor from stirring beyond the respective Bounds prescribed. However, as I said concerning a former Article, since the Laws are enacted and daily executed, and since the Nation are *habituated* to this absurd and cruel Practice, it would be more adviseable to graft a good Polity on these bad Laws, than absolutely to repeal them. And the Security above-mentioned of Five Pounds, will effectually prevent the Idle and the Vagabond

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gabond from being troublesome, at the same time, that it will allow the Ingenious, Industrious, and Ambitious to push their Fortune, where-ever they can find it will answer best.

VI. It is proposed, That Men shall not be allowed to work at, to set up, or carry on certain Trades, which properly belong to Women,—unless they *marry*, and so may be considered as *Affiliants* to their Wives. These Trades will be more fully set forth, when we come to treat of the Polity proper for securing and promoting good Morals. And *Note*, All the four last Articles, *viz.* That relating to serving an Apprenticeship,—That relating to Corporate Places,—That relating to Parish Settlements,—and the present concerning the Trades proper for Women, must come frequently under Consideration in the Progress of this Work; because the Policies here attempted to be grafted upon them, are not only means to increase the Numbers of People, but also the most effectual Methods of promoting Commerce, Industry, and good Morals.

VII. It is proposed, That all Men for the first twelve Calendar Months after Marriage, shall be exempted from serving any Offices they shall please to decline; also be freed from paying all *personal* Duties and Taxes whatsoever.—In regard to this seventh Proposal, be it remembered, That it is a Transcript of a Part of that admirable Polity which *Moses* introduced by Divine Command into the *Hebrew* Constitution; whereby the little Territory of *Palestine* (not much larger than the Principality of *Wales*) became the most populous and the best cultivated Country on the Face of the Globe. Nor let any one object, That such Exemptions throw the Burden upon others; for surely the most effectual Way to *lighten* the Weight of any Burden is, To lay a Scheme for increasing the Numbers of those who are *speedily* to contribute towards the Support of it. Thus, therefore, might the married State be rendered desirable, and become the Object of the Wishes of both Sexes. For it is humbly presumed, that all the Regulations here proposed, are such as would want very little Inforcement from Courts of Judicature; because they would execute themselves, and consequently must be effectual. As to the first Regulation, which excludes Bachelors from Titles of Honour, and Offices of Honour, Power, or Profit;—and the second which fixes the Time of *Majority* to twenty five Years, both these may be softened by a *saving Clause*, as far as regards the present Generation: That is, the *present* Admirers of a single Life may be excepted from

from the Disqualifications here proposed, if they shall have attained to the Age of twenty one Years *before* the passing of such a Law. And as this Exception may be necessary in order to disarm the Fury of their Opposition, and will likewise be only a *temporary* Thing, the Inconveniences attending it will *diminish* every Day.

BUT after all, it ought not to be concealed, that there is one Difficulty still remaining, and such a one as, will sometimes defeat, if it cannot be removed, the Intent of the best of these Regulations in favour of Marriage. It is the Difficulty of obtaining a Divorce in Cases of Adultery. For as the Law now stands, the Innocent are punished, while the Guilty triumph. A Man, for Example, though convicted of the most notorious Adultery, shall still enjoy his whole Fortune; and the injured Wife obtain no other Satisfaction, than to be separated from *Bed and Board*; which can be no Punishment at all to the Adulterer. Again, If the Husband is the innocent Person, and the Wife the Adulteress, he shall not be allowed a second Marriage, even though he should declare in open Court, that he hath Reasons both of *Prudence* and *Religion* against continuing in a single State. Thus is he punished, as if he was the guilty Person;—unless he hath Friends and Money to obtain a Divorce by Act of Parliament.

Now if such Divorces *à Vinculo Matrimonii*, as they are called, are *unjust* in themselves, no Power on Earth hath a Right to grant them; nor can a thousand Acts of Parliament dissolve that Marriage which is not cancelled by the Laws of God. But if the Parliament is justified for disannulling a Marriage upon plain Proofs of Adultery, why should not the inferior Courts of Justice have the same Power, when the same Proof is laid before them?—Nay, such a Proof, on which the Act of Parliament itself is built? For it is observable, That no Act of Parliament can be obtained, till the Adultery hath *first* been proved in another Court. Moreover, if Husbands are intitled to the Privilege of being *totally* divorced, upon full Evidence of the Infidelity of their Wives, why should not the same Liberty be granted to the other Sex? Sure I am, that the Marriage Vow of Faithfulness and Affection, is the same in both Cases; the Men likewise are as capable by Nature of adhering to their Ingagement: and though a Breach on the Part of the Women may sometimes be attended with greater *temporal* Inconveniences, yet if the Contract itself is not to be disannulled by the Crime of Adultery, the mere Plea of greater Inconvenience will appear a very weak one. Besides, it is such a Plea, as in certain Cases, may be made with greater justice on the Woman's Side, than on the Man's; therefore

fore it would follow, that when *such* Circumstances occur, the Woman ought to have the full Power of a *total* Divorce, and not the Man.

THIS being the present State and Imperfection of our Laws, let us now see what Lights may be drawn from the holy Scriptures towards correcting and amending them.

FIRST therefore it appears, That when *Moses* constituted the Body of the Jewish Law, the Practice of divorcing Wives *at Pleasure* was very frequent in that Age, and in those Countries. For even in * the Books of *Leviticus* and *Numbers* we find the Affair of Divorces spoken of as a *settled* Usage, and a Custom *universally* prevailing: So that *Moses* was so far from introducing this Practice, that he *moderated* the Exercise of it by confining it to *narrower* Bounds. And this agrees with the Words of our Lord, who said, "That *Moses* **SUFFERED** them to "put away their Wives, because of the *Hardness* of their Hearts;"—strong Intimation, That if these *arbitrary* Divorces could have been *intirely* prevented at *that juncture*, it would have still been better. However, what *Moses* † did, was a considerable Check upon *hasty*, *passionate*, and *capricious* Separations, though it was very far from being a thorough Prevention of the Evil.

SECONDLY, We must farther observe, That all Divorces under the *Mosaical* Dispensation were *total* and *final*: That is, They were Separations not only from *Bed* and *Board*, as the Canonists speak, but total Dissolutions of the Marriage Covenant: So that the Phrase, *To put away one's Wife*, carried the same Signification to them, as a *Parliamentary Divorce* doth to us; and each of the Parties might marry again whom and when they pleased. Such was the Language and Meaning of the Words in our Saviour's Time: And therefore when the Pharisees asked him, "Whether it was lawful for a Man to put away his Wife," they included the *Power* of marrying another, as a necessary Part of

* See *Leviticus* xxi. 14. Chap. xxii. 13. also *Numbers* xxx. 9.

† The Words of *Moses* are, "When a Man hath taken a Wife and married her, and it come to pass, that *she find no Favour in his Eyes*, because he hath found *some Uncleanness in her*: Then let him write her a Bill of Divorcement, and give it in her Hand, and send her out of his House. And when she is departed out of his House, she may go and be another Man's Wife." Deut. xxiv. 1, 2. Now this Expression, *some Uncleanness in her*, is very *ambiguous* and *indeterminate*: And yet the Ambiguity in the *Original* is still greater.—Most probably the Meaning was, That when the Husband had discovered some *very great Imperfection* either of *Body* or *Mind* in his Wife, which her Parents, Guardians, &c. had *industriously concealed* from him, then he was at Liberty to divorce her if he pleased. And there was some Colour for the Exercise of such a Power in an *Eastern* Country, where the Man and Wife must have been, in a manner, *quite Strangers* to each other, till the Day of their Marriage.

the Idea. Indeed these two Expressions were generally considered as equivalent Terms. For when our Lord preached his Divine Sermon on the Mount to a mixed and popular Audience, he used the very same Expressions as equivalent one to the other, viz. "It hath been said, Whosoever shall *put away his Wife*, let him give her a Writing of Divorcement; but I say unto you, that whosoever shall *put away his Wife*, saving for the Cause of Fornication, causeth her to commit Adultery. And whosoever shall marry her that is divorced, committeth Adultery," *Matt. v. 31, 32*. Where we may observe, That he takes it for granted, that the Jewish Wife, according to the Custom of her Country (where Matrimony was strictly required, and universally countenanced) would *not* remain in a single State, but would soon marry again: which Marriage he pronounces to be an Act of Adultery.—But why so? why is this Marriage to be reckoned adulterous more than others? The Reason is assigned by our Lord himself, viz. "Because the former Marriage Contract holds good, unless it is vacated by the Crime of Infidelity: For this is the only Crime which dissolves the Nuptial Tie, and allows a Man to put away his Wife; that is, marry again."

THIRDLY, It is also to be observed, That Divorces were still more frequent and arbitrary among the Greeks and Romans, than among the Jews. For both Men and Women had a Power of divorcing each other, without assigning any Cause, Motive, or Reason whatever; and might afterwards marry whom they pleased. This being the Case, let us consider ourselves as stript of all modern Ideas relating to these things, and let us fix the same Meaning to the Words, which the Jews did in our Saviour's time, and the Greeks and Romans in the time of St Paul.

Now the Pharisees, in their Application to our Lord, put the Question in this Form, "Is it lawful for a Man to put away his Wife for EVERY CAUSE?" That is, in other Words, Is it lawful for a Man to be divorced at Pleasure?—For such they were willing to hope, was the Indulgence granted them by Moses. To which Inquiry he replied in two Places, viz. *Mark x. 2—12*. and *Luke xvi. 18*. That such arbitrary Divorces were not justifiable;—giving a general Answer to a general Question. But in two other Places, viz. *Matt. v. 31, 32*. and *Chap. xix. 3—9*. He not only gives the general Answer, but also adds the particular Exception, by shewing, That a Divorce is lawful in the Case of Adultery, and in that only.

MOREOVER, when St Paul wrote to the Corinthians in Answer to a Question of theirs concerning Marriages and Divorces, it is evident

from the Context, That he meant nothing more than to express his Disapprobation of those *arbitrary* and *capricious* Divorces, which were then in use among the Gentiles. For these People, knowing their Power of dissolving the Marriage Contract, whenever they pleased, were *tempted* to carry every little domestic Quarrel and trifling Dispute to this fatal Extremity. Indeed, *healing* Counsels and *mutual* Forgiveness were scarce known, and seldom practised in any of those Countries, where both the Parties could wreak their Revenge upon each other by insisting upon the Privilege of a Divorce. And therefore this unlimited Privilege, as some are pleased to call it, would be so far from being advantageous to Society, or even to *domestic* Happiness, could it be attainable in our Days, that it would always *exasperate* and *inflame*, instead of *cooling* and *calming* the Passions of Mankind. Excellent therefore was the Advice of the Apostle, "If the Woman *will* depart, let her remain *unmarried*, or be *reconciled* to her Husband: And let not the Husband put away his Wife." He had before been exhorting them to live in Union and Harmony: But if Differences should arise, and these be carried to so great a Height as to cause a Separation between them, then he directs, That they must not think of entering into *new* Marriage Contracts with other Persons, but remain unmarried in order to come together again, and *be reconciled*. This State of the Case is farther illustrated by what follows, "If any Brother hath a Wife that believeth not, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away. And the Woman which hath an Husband that believeth not, if he be pleased to dwell with her, let her not leave him." Where we may observe, That the Apostle was guarding against *Family Disputes* on Account of the Differences of Religion:—and not at all entering into the Reasonableness or Unreasonableness of Divorces on Account of Adultery: Indeed our Lord himself had determined that Question long before.

UPON the Whole therefore, thus much must now be surely taken for granted, That our Lord and St Paul introduced no *new Distinctions* into the Nature of a Divorce, but only confined the Practice of it to much narrower Bounds than either *Jews* or *Gentiles* had been accustomed to. If therefore a Man is allowed by the Gospel of Christ to *put away* his Wife for the Cause of Adultery, he is likewise allowed to *marry another*; these two Phrases signifying the same Thing in the Language of the Gospel. As to the Popish Distinctions of a Divorce *à Mensa & Thoro*,—and a Divorce *à Vinculo Matrimonii*, they were not known in that Age, nor in many hundred Years afterwards; but were the

Invention

Invention of the Canonists and the Court of Rome, in order to create a Market for their own Dispensations, Pardons, Indulgencies, Absolutions, &c. &c. And the Misfortune was, that at the Time of the Reformation, People were in too great an Agitation of Spirits, to be able to examine with Deliberation how far the Corruptions of Popery had interwoven themselves into the more distant Parts of the Constitution: nor indeed was it an easy Matter, at such a Juncture, to prescribe a Remedy for the more latent and less obvious Disorders, when the best Heads and the warmest Hearts had enough to do to recover the *vital* Parts of the Constitution from the principal and more malignant Evils it laboured under. And thus it comes to pass, That at this Day we retain a monstrous Share of Popery (that is, the *Effects* of Popery) in many Branches of our Religious, Civil, and Commercial Polity, after it hath been banished out of our Articles of Faith, and Systems of Belief.

BUT having now cleared up the Difficulty which embarrassed this Affair, I have only to remark, That the *Cautions* to be observed in giving Sentence in Cases of Divorce are obvious and plain enough: For if every Divorce was attended with six, or twelve Months Imprisonment of the *Guilty*, together with a *very large* Fine to be levied out of the *proper* Estate or Fortune of such offending Persons for the Use of the *Innocent*, there could be no such Thing as a *collusive* or *fraudulent* Divorce: And if both Parties accused, and proved each other guilty of Adultery, then both ought to suffer Imprisonment, and their respective Forfeitures be given to the Poor.

FROM hence therefore, let us take a View of the happy Consequences which must result from the whole of such a System operating *uniformly* together.

I. THEN, If the proposed Regulations took Place, every general Election, instead of being so extremely pernicious to the Morals and Manufactures of the Kingdom, as Elections are now observed to be, would eventually promote the Happiness of Society in all Respects:—Also as no Man would attempt to offer himself a Candidate for Places of Honour, Profit, or Preferment in the *State*, nor could enjoy any Titles of Honour, unless he were married;—and as the exclusive Privileges of Cities, Boroughs, and Corporate Societies,—and the restraining Laws relating to Trades and Parish Settlements would operate *only* against *Batchelors*, the CONSEQUENCE would be, that the whole Kingdom, without Force or Compulsion, would prefer the married

State to any other Condition; so that it would become even the *Fashion* of the Times to be a married Man; and a Bachelor would be looked upon with Ignominy and Contempt.

II. As Matrimony became more desirable, or, if you please, more *fashionable*, the Taste for public Pleasures and Diversions would subside of Course; and both Sexes would begin to cultivate such Tempers and Dispositions of Mind, as would be the fittest Qualifications for the Married State, and become the most useful in domestic Life.

III. THE Consequence of this would be, that the Persons actually engaged in the married State and the Cares of a Family, would be much happier in themselves than can now be expected from them.—Because at present they see with Regret those Pleasures, which they cannot partake of so frequently and completely as single Persons do: And upon the Strength of this Circumstance, they make themselves miserable in forming Comparisons to their own Disadvantage.—Such a Source of domestic Uneasiness is not to be removed, till the first Cause and Origin of it is taken away. For Mankind in general will always be found to be better or worse, in proportion to the Increase or Decrease of the Temptations that surround them.

IV. MEN of the greatest Property and Fortune would then marry in the Prime of Life, both as they could not make any Figure in their Country without this Qualification, and as the great Temptations to Debauchery would then be removed: nor would their Sons be sent abroad so young, raw, and unexperienced as they now are.

V. AFTER Persons are married and have Families, the very Principle of *Self-Love* inclines them much more strongly than when in a single State, to a sober and industrious Course of Life; because Sobriety and Industry are the *natural Means* of supporting themselves with Credit and Reputation, and of making a Provision for their Family.

VI. THE same Principle of *Self-Love* would induce them to give their Children a Religious Education, and train them up in some virtuous and honest Calling: For it never can be the *general* Interest of Parents (not to mention Motives of a higher Nature) to bring up their Children to *Idleness* and *Irreligion*.

VII. WERE

VII. **When** that Regulation to obtain, which fixes the Age of *Twenty Five* for the Time of *Majority*, the Parental Power would be sufficiently enlarged, which at present is undoubtedly too low in *England*; and Parents would have a reasonable Influence over their Children in the Disposal of them in Marriage, without Tyranny or Compulsion. Indeed, Cases of this Nature are attended with perplexing Difficulties on all Sides; but there are fewer Difficulties on this Side, than on the other; and the Advantages both to Society, and to the Individuals themselves would be, upon the whole, much greater.

VIII. **When** the Morals of the People are in general amended, fewer will perish by drinking *Spirituous Liquors*, and other Habits of Intemperance, the present fruitful Sources of Disease and Villainy; also the Numbers of Convicts will be lessened, and very few will be obliged to leave their Country through *Shame* or *Want*.

IX. **When** Matrimony is duly encouraged, the unnatural Lusts themselves will then grow less frequent than they are now reported to be. For these horrid Vices, generally speaking, are derived from one or other of the following *bad Sources*, viz. Either from a *Prohibition* of the natural Use of the Sexes, or the *Satiety* of abandoned Lewdness and shameless Prostitution. Now as the latter Vice prevails at present in this Country, it is no wonder that the Crimes against Nature should be the Consequence: For this was ever the Case both in ancient and modern Times, as all Histories do testify.

X. As nothing in this Life can be absolutely perfect, —we will suppose the Marriage State, notwithstanding these good Regulations, to prove sometimes greatly unhappy through the Infidelity of one of the Parties:—Yet even then the Remedy of a Divorce would be at hand to relieve the *Innocent*. And this itself might be a Means to engage many Persons to venture upon that State, which, at the worst, would not then be, as it is now, without a Remedy: Indeed such a Check would be a Motive to all in general to observe a regular and unblameable Behaviour, knowing the *Penalty*, as well as *Infamy* attending the guilty Person in Case of a Divorce.

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BUT, as we have observed before, the Crime of Infidelity, as well as all other Crimes, would be much less frequent in both Sexes, in proportion as the Temptations and Tempters were removed or decreased.

C H A P. II.

A Polity for the Admission of Wealthy and Industrious Foreigners.

THE Reasons for instituting such a Polity, and the Advantages arising from the free Admission of wealthy and industrious Foreigners, will appear at large by the following Considerations.

I. MANY of the *best* and most *useful* Subjects in foreign Countries and arbitrary Governments, are often harrassed and oppressed by the *Minions* in Power. For any Pretext will serve, where Merit is dangerous, and Wealth a treasonable Crime, to prevent the Increase of such Subjects, or reduce them to a Level with others. Therefore such Persons as are the most deserving and the most industrious, are the best intitled to our Protection, and the fittest to be incorporated into a free State.

II. THE *Romish* Religion never ceases to persecute the Protestants in every Country, where it can; and these Protestants, generally speaking, are Merchants and Mechanics, Persons the most useful in a State, and the most wanted in our own;—and more especially deserving the Regard of that Kingdom on a *religious* Account, which is at the Head of the *Protestant* Religion.

III. IN some Countries Merchants and Tradesmen are treated with great *Contempt* merely on Account of their *Profession*, and dare not make that *display* of their Riches which their Fortunes could easily support, lest they should give umbrage to the Government to oppress them with Taxes, or for fear of exciting the Envy and Jealousy of the *Noblesse* by the superior Figure they could make in Society. Now such Persons as these ought to be particularly invited to settle in a Country, which prefers the Glory of Commerce to that of Conquest.

IV. It

IV. It is the Interest of this Nation to *invite* those Foreigners who have Money in the Public Funds to reside in *Great Britain*, because the Savings of the Remittances of so much *Yearly Interest* (now constantly sent abroad) would be a very great Addition to the National Stock. But the present Expences of a private Bill for Naturalization are so great, that many Foreigners (having Money in our Funds, and who are willing to make a Purchase of an House, or a Piece of Land, or to engage in some Branch of Merchandise) are deterred from settling in *England*, seeing they cannot enjoy the Emoluments of their own Fortune, without paying so dearly for it. Suppose therefore the Mind of a Foreigner to be *balancing*, whether he shall settle here, or continue in his own Country;—in such a Situation a very little would turn the Scale:—And whatever a prejudiced *Englishman* may suppose of the Charms of *Old England*, an indifferent Foreigner, who doth not see with the same Eyes, will not esteem it a very signal Favour to be allowed to spend his Money among us, and to enrich this Country at his own Expence.

V. As the Introduction of Foreigners brings in Riches, so doth it open also larger Correspondencies;—it presents us likewise with the Inventions and Sagacity of other Nations, creates more Employment for the Natives, helps and improves all our old Manufactures, and sets up new ones;—thus impoverishing our Rivals, at the same Time that it enriches ourselves.

VI. WHEN a Country is open for the Reception of Foreigners, it is proper to inquire, What sort of foreign Adventurers are likeliest to come in, and to try their Fortunes.—Foreign Beggars, for Example (concerning whom so great a Dread hath been pretended) are ignorant of the Language of any Country but their own. Judge therefore, to what Purpose should they come over to exercise the Trade of Begging, without being able to tell their doleful Tale, in which consists the very Art and Mystery of their Trade? Besides, as Idleness and Laziness are their grand Characteristic, they will not engage in any Enterprize, that is to cost them long Journeys and much Fatigue: Add to this, that their very Poverty is a Bar against the Expence of a Voyage into *England*; an Expence still heightened to Strangers, as they are unacquainted with the Ways of Living of the Country, and know not *how* or *where* to be accommodated on the cheapest Terms. Now this reasoning;

ing ought to be attended to, because it is confirmed by Fact and Experience: For though *Great Britain* is open to all the Beggars of the Universe (who cannot be *legally* driven away after they are *once arrived here*) yet perhaps there is not a single Instance of any Person coming into this Country with a View to exercise the Trade of Begging. And what has been observed concerning Beggars, holds equally true concerning the *Lazy* and *Undeserving* of any other Profession. For such Creatures have neither the Talents nor Ambition for pushing their Fortunes in a strange Country: And indeed it is scarce possible, that any Foreigners should succeed, but those who are conscious to themselves of superior Talents, Industry, or Frugality in some respect or other. Now such Adventurers as these are a Blessing to every State where they settle: And would to God, they were properly encouraged to settle here!

VII. As the Rent of Lands depends on the Numbers of People, (for Land is quite useless without a Market for its Produce) so the Introduction of Foreigners is a sure Means of creating a Demand for all the Produce of a Landed Estate;—and consequently of raising the Value and Price of Land. Whereas at present, for want of a sufficient Consumption at home, we are obliged to send great Quantities of Corn abroad, and to levy a Tax upon ourselves to promote the Exportation of it to our Rivals. Thus they are fed cheaper than our own Manufacturers; and the greater the Years of Plenty, the higher is the Tax which we pay to foreign Countries. Now if the People, who consume this Corn abroad, were transplanted into *England*, we should not only save this Expence, but likewise employ a prodigious Number of Hands in manufacturing the said Corn into Bread, at the same Time that we should reap the Benefit of additional Labour and Industry, Strength and Riches, in every other Instance.

VIII. THE same Benefits must accrue to the Nation from the Admission of Foreigners, as would follow by the Increase of our own People in the Way of Marriage:—with this advantageous Circumstance, that Foreigners *immediately enrich* a State by their Industry, Commerce and Manufactures, which our natural-born Infants cannot do, but must remain a dead Weight upon the Community, till they are grown up, and actually employed in some useful Calling. Now this Consideration alone hath determined the Polity of *France*, not only to put the Foreigners on the *same Footing* with the natural-born Subjects

jects, but also to grant them (particularly the *Swiss*) superior Privileges, in order to allure the greater Numbers into the Kingdom.

IX. THE Genius of the *English* Nation particularly requires, that it should be *piqued* by the Example of industrious, skilful, and deserving Foreigners. Tell an *Englishman*, That it is a Shame for him to be excelled by a *Frenchman*,—that he ought to keep up the Glory of his Country, and not suffer himself to be out-done by a Foreigner; and this will have as great, perhaps a greater Effect to quicken his Industry, and mend his Morals, as any Consideration whatever.

X. As the Country is *already* open, not only to *Beggars*, were they disposed to come, but also to *Singers, Fiddlers, Strollers, Dancers, Tumblers, &c. &c.* of every Climate and Religion, for the bringing over of whom *large Subscriptions are yearly made*,—one would think, there could be no great harm in going *one Step* farther, *viz.* To give a *Parliamentary* Invitation to the industrious and wealthy *Merchant*, to the ingenious and frugal *Mechanic*, and the oppressed and persecuted *Protestant*: For if Numbers of these were introduced among us, their Examples and Behaviour might, in some degree, counter-act the Corruption, Idleness, and Debauchery occasioned by the others.

XI. WHEN *English Protestants* express any kind of *backwardness* to receive persecuted and distressed *Protestants* of other Countries, they act in direct Opposition to the Spirit and Intention of their own Religion, and commence *Papists* in that particular Part of *Popery*, which is most injurious to the Christian Religion, dishonourable to human Nature, and detrimental to Society.

BUT as it is our *Duty*, so it is our Interest to *naturalize* the Virtuous and Industrious of every Nation, and to make them one People with ourselves. For Numbers of Inhabitants are the Strength, Riches, and Security, nay the *Beauty* of a Country:—Whereas the Depopulation of a Territory is not only its Ruin, but its *Deformity*.

THUS far I have proceeded in the *argumentative* Way, proving from the clearest Principles of Religion, Reason, and National Welfare, the great Expediency of a Bill for a general Naturalization. But alas! this harmless Word has by Art and Industry been made such a *Bugbear*, that the very Sound of it carries Dread and Terror, and, like a dark Night to a timorous Person, is full of

Gorgons, fierce Hydras, and Chimeras dire!

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THEREFORE all that can be done at present, is to substitute such a Polity, as may answer the chief Ends of a general Naturalization, without naming that odious Word.— And this may be done two Ways; *first* by apprizing Foreigners of the true Nature and Genius of the *English* Constitution, as far as relates to this Affair; and *secondly*, by enacting such Laws as shall remove all the Difficulties which Foreigners now labour under, without naturalizing them.

I. THEREFORE, The principal Thing to be done, is to apprize the Inhabitants of Foreign Countries of the Genius of the *English* Constitution. For the governing Powers abroad take great Pains to conceal from their Subjects the true State of this Affair. And they so well understand the vast Advantages of having their Territories well peopled, that *Art* and *Power* are both made use of to prevent their Subjects from leaving their Native Country.— Yet such is our Infatuation, that we cannot see, that what is a *Loss* to our Rivals, is a *double Gain* to us! However, hence it is, that the Bulk of the People in *France* and other Countries, are made to believe every Time the Naturalization Bill is rejected, That the *British* Parliament have *refused* to admit Foreigners into their Kingdom. And indeed it is natural for other Nations to conclude, That this Bill, concerning which such a *mighty Clamour* hath been raised, must convey some *extraordinary* Privilege, without which the Residence of Strangers in *England* would be either *uncomfortable*, or *dangerous*: Whereas, in fact, this is a grand Mistake; and the Privileges conveyed by Naturalization are so *trifling*, that not one Foreigner in a thousand would be benefited by them. This may appear strange to many Persons; But it is not more strange than true: For when a Foreigner arrives in *England*, he is as much *naturalized* by his personal Residence, and enjoys as *full Privileges*, as an Act of Parliament itself could give him,—excepting in the four followings Particulars.

1. HE cannot possess Estates in *Fee*, unless the King grants Leave.
2. HE cannot merchandise without paying Alien Duty.
3. HE cannot obtain the Freedom of the *Turkey*, and one or two more exclusive Companies.
4. HE cannot be employed when he goes abroad, as Factor for the *English* in *Russia*, or in our Plantations, and a few other Places.

As to the *first* of these, very few Foreigners would chuse to buy Lands at all, because their principal Stock is employed to better Advantage in Trade; and if they have Children born in *Great Britain*,

or

or any of its Dominions, such Issue are in every respect, upon an equal Footing with the original Natives. But suppose a Foreigner should be inclined to make a Landed Purchase; Suppose he wants, for Example, an House to dwell in, being willing to continue his Riches in the Country where he got them, or perhaps to bring over his paternal Fortunes in order to enjoy them in this Kingdom of Liberty, (which Circumstance, by the by, ought not to be the *Motive* for us to quarrel with him) I say, such a Purchase is *valid in Law against all the Subjects of the Kingdom*:—Indeed the King himself could take it from him; but there is not any Probability that he ever would; nay, those very Persons who have exclaimed the most vehemently against the Naturalization Bill, would be the loudest in their Exclamations against such an Exertion of the Royal Prerogative. But what is much more to the present Purpose is, That the Foreigner himself can prevent this oppressive Use of the Prerogative several Ways; as (1.) By obtaining a private Bill of Naturalization. (2.) By Letters of Denization from the Crown. (3.) By making the intended Purchase in the Name of a Native, with a Declaration of Trust;—a frequent Practice with the Roman Catholics, in order to avoid the Payment of double Taxes. (4.) By contracting for such Estates as are deemed *Chattels* by the Common Law, and not *Freeholds*, of which kind of Tenures there are many thousands in the Kingdom, and more might be made at pleasure.

BUT as this latter Article seems to require some farther Explication, I shall therefore observe, That by the antient Common Law of the Realm, all *Lay* Estates or *Lay* Fees were supposed to be held of the Crown (either directly or indirectly) by some kind of *Military* Service. Therefore if a Foreigner should buy a landed Estate, he must become the King's *liege Man*, that is, do *Military* Service for that Estate. But in former Times, when the Kingdom was in perpetual Wars, and Estates in Land the only *considerable* Property;—also when the Possessors of such Estates were the *Military* Tenants, or *STANDING ARMIES*, of their Prince, it lay at the *Option* of the King, whether he would admit a Foreigner to be his Military Tenant, or not: So that the Reason or Grounds of the Distinction made between a Native and a Foreigner, arose from the Idea of the *Unfitness* of the latter to be the *King's Soldier*;—that Circumstance being the only Thing attended to in those gothic and barbarous Times. This farther appears by reflecting, That in all Cases where no Military Service was demanded, the Distinction between Foreigner and Native ceased of Course: of which take the following Instances for Proofs;—Before the Introduction of

Commerce, Goods and Chattels were such inconsiderable Things, that no Military Service was ever demanded for them; and consequently a Foreigner could possess them equally with a Native. The same Observation holds in regard to Landed Estates of *Base Tenure*; for these are deemed *Chattels* in the Eye of the Law, because the *Fee* of them is supposed to reside in some other Person, who, by being the Lord of the Manor, is legally the King's Soldier, or his Military Tenant. Wherefore the Vassals, Villains, or Under-Tenants, being exempt from this gothic Military Service, may be of any Country or Climate whatever.

THE *second* Thing to be considered, is the Burden of *Alien Duty*. This indeed is laid upon the Foreign Merchant with all the Art and Skill that Monopolizers could devise; a Race of Men who are ever setting up their own private Interest against that of the Public, and always raising a canting Cry (when any Attempts are made to free the Nation from these Oppressions) That Trade is in danger;—meaning thereby, that their own destructive Trade, their Monopoly is in danger; for they have a Regard for nothing else. But nevertheless Time has shewn, That the Monopolists have been defeated at their own Weapons; for though the City of *London* got the Laws to be passed for laying an Alien Duty upon the Goods of Foreigners, yet the Citizens themselves were the first in shewing the Way to elude it by covering such Goods under their own Names; so that at present this Inconvenience is very little felt. For when a Citizen once begun such a Practice, all the rest were obliged to do the same, lest he should ingross the Custom of Foreigners to himself: And at this Day the Usage is become so universal, that if one Citizen should refuse, hundreds would gladly do it.—Thus far therefore a Naturalization Bill is not absolutely necessary, though it may be expedient:—And indeed it is particularly expedient in a moral and religious View, in order to prevent numberless Lies and Perjuries.—Those who would know more on this Subject, must consult the Tenor of the Oaths taken by Citizens and Burgeses throughout the Kingdom.

As to the *third* Article, viz. The Freedom of the *Turky*, the *Russia* and the *Hudson's-Bay* Company, the Want of the Power of obtaining these Freedoms is certainly a great Disadvantage to Foreign Merchants, and consequently to the Commerce of the Nation; inasmuch as their very Situation in Life, their large Correspondencies, and enterprising Genius, particularly qualify them for ingaging in these Branches of Trade: by which

which means vast Quantities of our own Manufactures might be exported, and raw Materials imported.

THE *fourth* Restraint upon Foreigners relates to the Affair of Factorage in *Turkey*, in our own Plantations, and a few other Places.—But as to our own Plantations, it is one of those Laws which is too absurd to be executed: For the People of *America* will naturally imploy those Factors (notwithstanding our Acts of Parliament) who use them best, whether they are *English* or Foreigners. Besides, a Foreigner is naturalized of Course, if he resides seven Years in any of our Plantations. So that upon the whole, the Disadvantage in this Respect is very inconsiderable, and can affect but very few Foreigners; nor is it to be set in Counterbalance to the inestimable Privileges which Foreigners may enjoy in all other Instances, Religious, Civil, and Commercial.

AND thus having given a general State of the Case, we see at one View, That a Naturalization Bill is not so much wanted as the World may imagine, for the Admission of Foreigners; because such a Bill is rather to be considered in the Light of a National Advertisement to be published in foreign Countries, than as conveying any important or substantial Privileges. In a Word, were Foreigners properly acquainted with the Nature of our *English* Constitution, there would be little need of a general Naturalization Bill.

WHEREFORE the Proposal to be made on this Head is briefly this;—That the Lords of Trade, or any others in the Administration, should cause a few Paragraphs to be drawn up explanatory of this Affair, and get them inserted regularly three or four Times in the Year in all those Foreign Gazettes which are circulated among the Commercial and Manufacturing People of the Northern and Southern Parts of *Europe*.—Thus far as to the apprising Foreigners of the Nature and Genius of the *English* Constitution.

II. THE second Thing to be done is, To enact such Laws as shall remove all the Difficulties which Foreigners now labour under, without naming the *scare-crow* Word *Naturalization*.

THUS, for Example, a Law might be made, or a Clause inserted in the Body of any other Act, to abridge the Crown of the gothic Privilege of taking away a Foreigner's Landed Estate, and to cause such Estate to descend regularly among his Children, according to the Nature of other Descents. Such a Law would easily pass for Reasons that are very obvious:—Nor would it be in the Power of any pretended Patriots to raise a Clamor against it. A Statute, intituled, *An Act to*
abridge

abridge or limit the Prerogative of the Crown in certain Cases, carries the Air of Popularity, and would be received with Greediness. Nay, such is the Force of a proper Title, that if the late Jew Bill itself had been called, A Bill to prevent the Jews from profaning the Christian Sacraments, (which was the real Tendency of the Bill) instead of, A Bill to enable the Parliament to naturalize Foreign Jews, all would have been well; and the Zeal for Old England! and Christianity for ever! would have still been asleep.

ANOTHER Law might be passed, whose Title should be, *An Act for encouraging the Exportation of English Manufactures, and the Importation of raw Materials.* And one single Clause in this Law might be sufficient to repeal all kinds of Alien Duty.

A third might be added with a popular Title, *For the Encouragement of Shipping and Navigation:* And therein it might be specified, That all Persons residing in Great Britain or any Part of its Dominions, shall be permitted to make themselves free of any of our exclusive Companies.

A fourth might be stiled, *An Act for empowering all British Merchants to employ such Agents or Factors as they shall judge most conducive for carrying on their Affairs in Foreign Parts.*

Now these four Clauses (whether in separate Statutes or in one general Law, it matters not) comprehend every Power or Privilege which a Naturalization Bill itself can give. And yet not one of such Laws, if they have proper Titles, is capable of being made an Engine for raising popular Clamours, or serving the Ends of Electioneering Patriots. It is therefore humbly apprehended, That these four Clauses, joined to the Proposal before mentioned for issuing public Advertisements from the Board of Trade, would induce as many sober, religious, and industrious Foreigners to fly from the Tyranny of their respective Governments, and to strengthen and enrich this Country, as the most extensive Naturalization Bill whatever. Indeed it cannot be expected, that Foreigners would come over in Swarms to devour the Land, like the Egyptian Locusts; to whom they have been so often compared:—Neither would they have done so, whatever the Ignorant may fear, or the Designing pretend, though the Parliament was to give them thousand Invitations. For all Mankind are fond of their native Soil, and have strong Attachments to the Manners and Customs, the Air, and Situation of the Places of their Birth and Education. This we see visibly enough here at home in the little Contests between the Inhabitants of one Parish, Hundred, or County, and those of another; each pretend

pretending, that the Spot of their Nativity vastly excels the other, tho' both are under the same Government, partaking of the same Laws, Religion, and Climate, and no otherwise separated than by an Hedge, a River, a Moor, or a Mountain. Nor ought it to be omitted, That though an *Englishman* may fancy his own Country the finest under the Sun, the Glory and Garden of the Universe, an unprejudiced Spectator will not see it with the same Eyes: And therefore a Foreigner is not so strongly tempted, as we may imagine, to break through the dear Connections of Family and Relation, and to sacrifice his Interests, Friendships, and Pleasures, merely to come and reside in a Country, which, though a good one, is destitute of many real Beauties and Advantages which other Countries plentifully enjoy.

HOWEVER, though there is no manner of Reason for apprehending, That Foreigners will overwhelm us like a Torrent that hath broke its Banks; yet there are good Hopes, that many of the Religious and industrious, the Frugal or the Wealthy, the Lovers of just Liberty, and of Course the best Friends to the *English* Constitution, will flow upon us from various Climes, like a constant, though gentle Stream, always useful, always agreeable, enriching the Country with a continual Verdure, and causing no Waste or Desolation.

C H A P. III.

Other Politics for increasing the Number of People.

THOUGH the Politics for promoting Marriage, and inviting Foreigners are the more immediate Ways of increasing the Number of People, yet all other Politics which tend to imploy Mankind in useful Labour, and to preserve and improve their Morals, are greatly subservient to the same good End.

A SET of Politics, for Example, which promote Industry and discourage Vice, hath the same (nay indeed a much better) Effect in its Operations, as a Sum of Money given by way of Portion to encourage Marriage. For it puts Mankind into a Capacity of increasing their Species, without bringing Misery on themselves, or intailing it on their Posterity; and by opening new Sources of Wealth and Prosperity, it encourages them to ingage in the Marriage State with a good Prospect of supporting their Families with Credit and Comfort. When Idleness

is

is removed, Poverty is removed likewise; and when Industry is properly and generally excited, Numbers of Hands will of Course be *wanted*; so that a Stock of Children may be so far from being a Burden in certain Circumstances, that they may very literally and truly become the Wealth and Riches of the Parents. Now the Politics which seem best calculated to answer these good Ends will be set forth at large in PART II. wherein the Methods of employing Mankind, and for preserving a lasting and extensive Commerce, will be particularly treated of.

AGAIN, All those Politics which tend to promote good Morals have an immediate Influence on the Increase and Preservation of the human Species: For good Morals are not only an Antidote against the spreading of Diseases, and the Destruction of Lives through Intemperance and Excess; they not only prevent the *barren* and *unfruitful* Vices of Lewdness and Debauchery, but also teach Mankind, That the natural Desires of the Sexes towards each other may, and ought to be gratified by lawful Marriage. — And the married State, as hath been proved already, is the only efficacious Method of increasing the Numbers of Mankind, and rendering a Country truly populous: — But the Influence of good Morals will appear still in a stronger Light, when we come to PART III. wherein the Politics for the Preservation and Improvement of them are to be distinctly considered and recommended.

THESE Hints therefore may suffice at present as to those Politics which are yet for to come: — On the other Hand it may be just proper to take Notice, That the Politics already enlarged upon in the two foregoing Chapters concerning Marriage and Naturalization, will be found equally subservient to the good Purposes of Industry and Moral Virtue. For the several Parts of the great Commercial System do indeed mutually support and strengthen each other; inasmuch as populousness hath a natural Tendency to promote Industry and good Morals, — and these in their Turn as naturally create Populousness.



P A R T II.

Containing certain Politics for the Extension and Improvement of Commerce.

NATIONAL and extensive Commerce is only another Name for the right and useful Employment of the Individuals: And this Employment is derived either from the *natural*, or the *artificial* Wants of Mankind. The *natural* Wants, as hath been observed before, are such as belong to Man in common with other Animals: But the *artificial* are peculiar to him as a rational Agent, and a Member of Civil Society:—Though indeed in another Sense these very artificial Wants may be stiled natural, because they arise from the *peculiar Nature* of Man as distinguished from other Creatures. But this being a less intelligible Way of speaking, it would be better to keep to the former Division of Wants, into *natural*, and *artificial*. If therefore a Man is *poor*, he is scarce able to purchase or supply himself with any thing beyond the *bare* Necessaries of Life; so that his Condition will approach the nearer to the *Brutal* State, which admits of no Commerce at all: But if he is *rich*, he need not deny himself the Enjoyment of many things both useful and convenient. By which means it comes to pass, That several other Persons, besides himself, may be employed in making or procuring them. Now if this is the Case, it plainly follows, That the Support and Extension of Commerce must result from the Multiplication of the *artificial* Needs of Mankind.

BUT as this System of *Commercial Industry* is equally the Plan of Providence with the System of *Morals*, we may rest assured, That both are consistent with each other: And therefore, for the present, let us take it for granted, that they are so;—deferring the Proof till we come to PART III. which is to treat particularly on this Subject: And then it will be fully shewn, That these artificial Needs must be under the Direction of *good Morals*, before they can produce that *beneficial, perpetual*, and *extensive* Commerce, which Providence intended by them.

LEAVING therefore this Subject till a future Occasion, let us now observe, That all Commercial Employment may be divided into two kinds, *Husbandry*, and *Manufacture*; the immediate Object of the one

being to provide *Food*, and that of the other to procure *Raiment*, and *Dwelling*: And from the CONCURRENCE of *these three* every other Trade, Calling, or Profession derives its Origin and Support. If therefore this is the Case, how wrong must have been that System of Politics, which endeavoured to set Husbandry, and Manufactures at perpetual Variance? How base and disingenuous to stir up Jealousies between them, and to represent the one an Enemy to the other? For in Fact the *Landed*, and the *Trading* Interests are only the different Markets for each other's Produce, the one being the respective *Maker*, and the other the *Consumer*. And consequently, the real Exaltation, or Depression of either, must really exalt, or depress them both.

INDEED, if by the *Landed* Interest is to be understood the Interest of the Gothic Barons (as it formerly subsisted here in *England*) or the Interest of the Lairds of Clans in *Scotland*,—between *that* Interest and the Commercial there ever was, and ever will be a strong Opposition. For the Power and Importance of these *petty Tyrants* over their Slaves or Vassals, can be no otherwise preserved, than by chaining down the Mass of the People in Slavery and Want. It is therefore their Interest to depress Commerce; because every Increase of Property in the lower and middling Class of People tends to render them more free and independent;—and perhaps at last more considerable than their former Superiors. In short, the poorer the Inhabitants of a Country, the greater by *Comparison* is the Baron, the Laird of the Clan, or the Landed Squire. Granting therefore that the Estates of such *Old English Gentry*, who value themselves on the Antiquity of their Houses, would be bettered by the Introduction of Trade and Manufactures, and that they themselves would enjoy more of the Conveniencies, Elegancies, and Ornaments of Life, than they otherwise could do;—yet as their *Inferiors* by Birth might sometimes equal, and perhaps surpass them in these Injoyments, the *Country Gentlemen* are strongly tempted to regret this Diminution of their former Importance, and the Eclipsing of their antient Grandeur by the Wealth of these *Upstarts*.

BUT then, if the Systems of Baronage and Commerce do thus necessarily clash, it is likewise as true, That Baronage is as great an Impediment to Improvements in Agriculture and good Husbandry. For a Baron, or any other landed Gentleman, acting upon the old Baron Principles, cuts himself off from making any considerable Improvements on his Estates, both on Account of his Enmity to Manufactures, and his Tyranny over his Vassal Tenants. As he is an Enemy to Manufactures and that *independent Spirit* which Trade necessarily introduces

with Poland

he prevents, as much as in him lies, the having a Market for the Produce of his Estate. And as he esteems it inconsistent with his own Greatness and the Dignity of his House to give his Vassals a Taste for Liberty, consequently he takes away every Spur to Industry, and chains them down in Sloth, Ignorance, and Poverty. In a Word, a Gothic Baron in the Landed Interest is just the same kind of Monster as an *Exclusive* Company in the Commercial: They are both *Monopolists* in their several Ways; and their chief Wealth consists rather in preventing others from acquiring Wealth, than in being rich themselves: They are indeed *comparatively* great, because they render their Neighbours and Dependents *extremely* poor and miserable.

BUT to return;—If the true Interests of Agriculture and Manufactures are inseparably united, nay are indeed the same, we may therefore now consider them under the same View: Agriculture, for instance, is nothing else but a distinct Species of Manufacture, in relation to which the Ground or Soil is properly the *raw Material*, and the Land-Owner or Farmer is the *head* Manufacturer. This being the Case, it must necessarily follow, That every *general* Principle of Commerce, which tends to establish and promote other Manufactures, must likewise be productive of good Effects in Husbandry. And therefore our next concern is to make a suitable Application.

C H A P. I.

Certain Polities for encouraging and improving Husbandry.

IT is not the Design of this Chapter to set forth the Rules of Agriculture, or to give Directions for the inclosing, planting, tilling, watering, draining, or manuring of Lands: No; all these are to be learned from other Books;—But the proper Design of this Chapter is to shew, That the *universal* Mover in human Nature, SELF-LOVE, may receive such a Direction in this Case (as in all others) as to promote the Public Interest by those Efforts it shall make towards pursuing its own. And when this comes to be the State of Affairs, we may venture to foretel, from the necessary Connection between Causes and Effects, That the Science of Agriculture and Husbandry will be studied with more Care and Attention, and a swifter Progress will be made in the Arts of improving Estates, than have ever yet been known in these Parts of the World.

SECTION I.

A Policy for dividing large Estates.

WHEN this Kingdom was subject to the Gothic Baronage, it became a necessary Part of that Constitution, to transfer the whole Landed Estate, after the Death of the Father, to the eldest Son, without taking any Notice of the rest of the Children. For all Lay Estates being then *military Fees*, the Lords or Possessors thereof were bound by the Conditions of their Tenure, to arm their Vassals and Dependents, and to bring them into the Field when the King required. In such a Situation it is easy to see, That the Landlords of those Days were vested with a much greater Sway over their Tenants, in order to have them always at Command, than Landlords have at present. And such Powers must be annexed only to great Estates, otherwise they would become an useless and ridiculous Farce. For a Landlord would make but a burlesque Figure in the Day of Battle, acting as a Colonel, or heading a Battalion of half a dozen, or a dozen Tenants. The eldest Son therefore being naturally regarded as the Representative of the Family, and the next in Command over his Father's Tenants, succeeded of Course to the whole Landed Patrimony, in order to keep the Command intire.

THE Custom being thus originally founded in the Necessity or Convenience of the Times, was presently seconded by human Pride. For the Views of Ambition were gratified by this Display of Military Prowess: And as each Gentleman became more formidable and dangerous to his Neighbours in proportion to the Numbers he could raise of these ragged Dependents, it became a necessary Part of Self-Defence to invest the Lands of the Realm in such Hands as might be able to protect both themselves and others from Assaults. Add to this, that the Motives of vain Glory in keeping up the Name of the Family, and supporting the Grandeur of the antient House, strong Motives at all times! were particularly prevalent at that Juncture.

BUT after the Abolition of the Gothic Baronage, and the Introduction of Industry and Manufactures, one might have expected, That our Laws and Customs would have received some Alteration in Conformity to this great Change. Yet so it is, That though the Gothic Vassalage is ended, the Baron-Scheme in many Instances still remains. For Estates are still permitted to be *intailed* on Heirs Male, to the Exclusion

Exclusion of all the *nearer* Relations that are Females: And if a Person dies *intestate*, the Common Law at this Day gives the whole Landed Estate to the eldest Son, without making any Provision for the rest. Now this Absurdity becomes the more glaring, inasmuch as this same Common Law divides all the Personals, be they ever so great, equally among the Children.—But in Truth, we must repeat an Observation made several Times before, *viz.* That the Amount of Personals, before the Introduction of Commerce, was so very insignificant, as to cause little Difference how they were divided. Whereas in our Times, the Amount of these Things in Trade, Cash, Mortgages, the Funds, Plate, Household Goods, &c. &c. is prodigious and immense. Either therefore the former Practice, which gives all to the Eldest, or this latter which makes no Distinction between the First-born and the Younger, must be intirely unjustifiable upon the present Footing of Things, and repugnant to Common Sense and Equity.

BUT indeed, the most useful Measure of any for the Public, and perhaps the most equitable regarding Individuals, would be to steer a middle Course between these two Extremes.

SUPPOSE therefore, That the Law relating to *Personals* should remain as it is, but the other regarding *Landed Estates* should be made more conformable to Commercial Ideas by the following Regulation; *viz.* That the Landed Estates of *Intestates* should be divided, one half to the eldest Son, or (in Case of no Issue) to the Heir at Law, and the other half to the rest of the Children, or to the Relations of equally near Kin with the Heir at Law;—in which Number the Eldest, or the Heir at Law should be always reckoned as *one*, and come in for a share accordingly.

NOW in Consequence of this Regulation the Eldest would always enjoy a Sufficiency to distinguish him from others, and yet the rest of the Children not be left destitute. For his Proportion, by means of having one half clear to himself, and a Child's Share in the Remainder, would always keep Pace with the Number of Children; so that the *comparative* Dignity of the Family would be decently preserved, and the Mansion House might still remain in the Possession of the eldest Branch. As to the Cadets, or younger Children of great Families, they would be rendered much more happy in themselves, and useful to the Community, by receiving a Share in the Paternal Estate, than they could possibly be, when they lay at the Mercy of their elder Brother, and were too high born to take to mechanic Labour, too poor to engage in a creditable Branch of Trade, and had no Estates of their own

to

to exercise their Genius upon. Such a Situation hath rendered many Persons, of valuable natural Qualifications, both miserable in themselves, and the Pests of Society, or at best but an useless Race of Mortals, humourously and yet movingly described in *The Spectator* under the Character of *Will Wimbles*.

BUT the peculiar Advantage of such a Polity appears from hence, That most of the great *unweildy* Estates throughout the Kingdom would undergo such Dismembrings, in a Course of Years, as would serve to raise up a respectable Number of new, independent Families, possessing from one hundred, to one thousand Pounds a Year:—That is, though the Lands were not worth, or not rented for near so much, when only Branches of the great Estate, yet they would be soon raised to a superior Value, when parted from it. For it is a most undoubted Fact, that if you should sever nine thousand Acres from an Estate of twenty thousand (that is, portion out nine Children, Male or Female, with one thousand Acres each, and reserve eleven thousand Acres for the eldest Son, or the Heir at Law) each of these Freeholds of a thousand Acres, *generally* speaking, would soon be made to produce above double the Quantity of Grass, Hay, Corn, Flax, Hemp, Timber, and other Materials, and to rear and feed a much greater Stock of Sheep, Horses, and Cattle, than it ever did, when only a Part of one great Monopoly, and let out on a Lease, or Rack Rent. Moreover, the Effects of such a Regulation would induce the eldest Sons, or the Representatives of great Families, to study Frugality and Oeconomy more than they do at present, and to strive to improve their Shares of the Paternal Estate, so as to raise them to be equal in Value to what the former was before the Division. And indeed a proper Attention to the Principles of National Commerce and good Husbandry, would hardly fail of Success: For it is with Landed Estates as with Kingdoms, where a little Territory rendered rich by Industry, and populous by Numbers, is infinitely more valuable and powerful than immense Regions, where Poverty and Desolation universally prevail. And in Fact, what other Reason can you assign, but the Neighbourhood of the Market of *London*, why the Lands of *Hertfordshire*, naturally very poor in themselves, should be at least an hundred Times more valuable than the rich and fertile Plains of *Hungary*? And what is true in a greater Instance, holds likewise true in a smaller. If therefore the eldest Branch of an antient Family can raise a Market for the Produce of his Lands, as Mr *Charwell* is represented to do in the ninth *Guardian*, he will soon make Amends for any Dismembrings of the Estate, and raise the

the Value of one Acre to be worth four times as much as it was in his Grandfather's Time.

As to the Case of small Landed Estates, which will not bear a minute Division, these will naturally devolve to the eldest Son; because it will be both his Interest, and that of the rest of the Family, to preserve the Estate intire: For the Land will not be so valuable, when subdivided into *trifling* Parcels, as when kept together: And therefore his only Course will be either to marry a Woman with a suitable Fortune in ready Money, or to borrow a Sum sufficient for paying off the Demands of the younger Children: And either of these Consequences would have no bad Effect upon the Commerce of the Public, or the Morals of the Individuals.

THUS far as to the Effects of the Polity here proposed;—A Polity, it must be owned, not very extensive, if considered simply in itself, but greatly so, when viewed in all its Consequences. For though this Regulation pretends to no more than to dispose of the Estates of Persons who die *intestate*, yet the Influence of such a Law would operate in Multitudes of Cases by way of *Pattern* and *Example*: And though Mankind would be left at perfect Liberty to make what Marriage Settlements, Deeds of Gift, or Wills they pleased; yet they would naturally consider, That they could not do better, than to follow that equitable Rule, which the Wisdom of their Country hath recommended to them.—Nay indeed it is very probable, That many Persons would *choose* to die *intestate*, because they could not propose to make a wiser Disposal of their Effects, than the Legislature hath done ready to their Hands.

SECTION II.

A Polity for inclosing Commons and Common Fields.

THE Notion of having Lands in common, is to be derived from the Barbarian or Scythian Way of Life, when Men were Strangers to any higher Occupation than that of Shepherds or Hunters. Nay, in those Countries where the People still remain Savages, their Lands lie all in common to this Day. But if the Origin of this Custom is to be traced so far back, it is natural to ask, Why did not the Custom cease, when the Inhabitants of this Island became more civilized, and were better instructed in the Principles of Industry and Property?—To which I answer, That old Customs will frequently remain (as we find

find by sad Experience) long after the original Cause of them hath been taken away. And this Prejudice for old Customs sticks the closer, if the *Self-Love* of any of the Individuals in a Society is made to believe, That their own private Interest is concerned to support such a Custom.

Now, it is to be observed, That when the Barons parcelled out their vast Manors among their Dependents and Followers, these latter, together with their Under-tenants, Slaves, or Villains, were not many Removes from a Savage State: That is, tho' the Knights and Squires were Men of some Property in Lands, and considerable by Birth, yet they lived a lazy, sauntering Life when in Peace, destitute of every Ornament and Convenience, and when at War had little to lose besides the bare Walls of their Castles, and their Military Glory. Indeed it is hardly conceivable, That the Life of a Soldier should be spent in the Cultivation of Lands, and good Husbandry: And in those Times every Man was either a Soldier by Profession, or a Slave in Condition. Now Slavery, as hath been remarked before, is of all Conditions the most opposite to Industry and Improvement. Therefore it is very evident, That though the Bulk of the Nation were not absolute Savages, yet they made nearer Approaches to that State of Life, than many Persons who seem to boast of the Glory of *Old England* are willing to acknowledge. In short, when there was no Industry, no Commerce, and no Markets, Lands were worth little: And therefore it was no Loss to the Baron, and seemed to be some kind of Favour granted to the Vassals and Tenants, to set out a District of ten, fifteen, or twenty Miles square, for Hunting Grounds, and common Herbage. Nay, if the Lands had been divided into equal Shares of five hundred Acres apiece throughout the Kingdom, it is much to be questioned, whether there were Families enough, free or villain, to have settled in half of them: Consequently the other Moiety must have still remained in the Hands of the Baron, or great Landlord, *untenanted* and *unoccupied*, which therefore at such a Juncture, would soon have been regarded as *open* or *common* Grounds. And what was thus true in regard to the Manors of the Barons, was equally true in respect to those immense Domains which formerly belonged to the Crown:—Not to mention, That our former Race of Kings kept prodigious Tracts of Ground in almost every County in the Kingdom waste and desolate, under the Name of *Chaces* and *Forests*, for the Diversion of Hunting and Hawking.

THE Tenants therefore and Vassals having thus a Liberty of Common, transmitted the same to their Successors, and so downwards to the

the present Times. And therefore we call things by the same Names at this Day, though the whole Nature of the Constitution is perfectly changed:—Nay we pretend to find out Reasons, why these Commons should still continue in their original State of Desolation, (so ingenious is deluded Self-Love) though there is not one Reason now remaining for their Continuance.

I. THEREFORE it is objected, "That if we break up our Commons, our Sheep-Walks will be destroyed."—Now this Objection takes for granted, That if our Commons were inclosed, they would become Arable Land;—or at least would not be applied to the Purposes of rearing and feeding Sheep. But surely this is supposing a great deal too much, without proving any thing: For though it is probable, That two or three Corps of Corn would be sown in the fresh Grounds, upon their first Inclosure, yet it is as probable, That each Field in its turn, would afterwards be laid down in Grass, Clover, Cinque-Foin, or other seeds; and it is certain, That a Crop of Turnips, together with a little Hay, (natural or artificial it matters not) would support more Sheep during the hard Time of the Winter, or Spring, than ten thousand Acres of Common, where they can have neither Grass, nor Shelter. Besides, it is a known Fact, That since the Inclosing of Downs, Commons, and common Lands, the Number of Sheep hath been vastly increased in those Countries where the Inclosures have been made:—And what is more, The Quantity of Wool growing upon the same Sheep's Back hath been increased likewise. Moreover, if this is the Case with respect even to dry Heaths and upland Commons,—what shall we say of such Commons, which are mere Moors and Marshes? For who is to drain, to trench, to manure, and cultivate them, while they remain open and common? And without this Husbandry what are they worth for three Parts in four of the whole Year? In short, this Affair is too absurd to bear a long Debate. And the Whole may be summed up in a few Words, viz. That Commons, whether Downs or Marshes, afford a tolerable Feed during a few Months in the Summer, when Food is plenty, and Shelter unnecessary, but they afford none at all in the Winter, and the Beginning of the Spring, when both Food and Shelter are mostly wanted.

II. It is objected, "That Inclosures tend to spoil the Fineness of our Wool; because it is found by Experience, That after open Grounds

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"have been inclosed, the Wool of the Sheep grows of a longer and coarser Staple, than it did before."

Now in regard to Fineness, this is not the essential Quality of *English* Wool; nor are the Cloths and Stuffs sent to foreign Markets, made out of our finest Wools, but out of our coarse, middling, and long Wools; so that our Fabrics can receive no Discredit, nor our Trade any Disadvantage upon that Account. Nay it is certain, That our finest Wool is chiefly used for home Consumption, partly to make Cloth by itself, and partly to mix with *Spanish*: And the true superfine Cloths are all *Spanish* Wool.

BUT we have yet had no Proof, That the bare Inclosing of Grounds renders the Wool coarser:—Indeed it must be allowed, That a short, poor, close Feed, such as Downs and Commons generally afford, will render the Fibres more feeble, and consequently the Wool weaker, and in that Sense finer: Whereas a strong, hearty Feed, causes the Fibres of the Animal to be stronger, and the Perspiration more vigorous; and perhaps by that means the Wool is rendered somewhat coarser and longer. But this Wool is the fittest of all others for Combing, and making Stuffs and Worsted; which in Fact is thought to be the chief Excellence for which the *English* Wool is preferable to that of other Nations. However, if a short Feed is so necessary for preserving the Fineness of the Wool, and if the Fineness itself is so necessary to preserve the Credit of our Manufactures, I humbly conceive, That Inclosures may be fed down as close as open Commons, and that therefore this can be no real Objection. But to come nearer to the Point, what shall we say of the Wools of *Urchenfield* in *Herefordshire*, which are indisputably the finest in *England*; and yet this Part of the County is as much inclosed as any Part in the Kingdom, if not more; and the Lands in general are of a very rich, deep, and fertile Soil? The Facts on both Sides are unquestionable; and therefore the Inference seems to be, That we have not yet discovered the true Cause of the Fineness, or Coarseness of Wool;—I mean, any farther than what may be accounted for by the Strength or Weakness of the Animal.—Certain it is, That on the Hills of *Mendippe* in *Somersetshire*, a Range of Common of near twenty Miles in Length, there is an apparent Difference in the Wool of almost every Parish. And yet what Hypothesis can account for this Difference? But as to the Fineness of the Wool of *Urchenfield*, the most probable Way of accounting for it upon general Principles, seems to be this; That if an equal Degree of Perspiration causes the best Growth of Wool, which seems to be generally allowed, then the Farmers in
Urchenfield,

Urchensfield, who house or cot their Sheep by Nights, keep their Sheep in an equal Temperature, and so prevent those Extremes of Heat and Cold, which would damage their Wool.—This being their Practice, it is a Pity the like Practice was not tried in other Counties, in order to ascertain the Effects of it; for the Experiment is easy, safe, and not expensive; and the *Urchensfield* Wool is near *Cent. per Cent.* more valuable than the Wools of *Leominster*, and other Places.

III. It is objected, “That by inclosing so much Common and Common Fields, we shall lessen the Quantity of Arable Lands; inasmuch as it will be more advantageous to lay down inclosed Fields for Grass, than to sow Corn in them.”

Now this Objection is just the Reverse of the first; For that supposed, That all the Lands would be plowed up, so as to leave no Grounds for Pasture; and this is built upon a contrary Supposition, *viz.* That every Inclosure would be converted to Pasture only. But both these Objections are alike founded on a Mistake, and seem to arise from a partial View of the Subject. For the true State of the Case seems to be this. *viz.* As the Produce of Arable and Pasture Grounds are very different in themselves, and are both (we will suppose) to be brought to the same Market;—The Question therefore is, Which of these Grounds *must* lie nearest, and which *may* be farthest off from the Place where the Produce is to be vended? Now the Produce of Pasture Grounds, considered in a general View, is Milk, Butter, Cheese, and Flesh: And each of these Articles, (large Cheeses excepted) are to be brought to the Market fresh and fresh; consequently the Grounds to be set apart for Pasture ought to be contiguous to the Town or City where the Market is held; or at most the Distance ought not to be very great, nor the Roads bad, because the Carriage of these things must be repeated often, perhaps every Week or every Day, Winter and Summer. Whereas Corn may be brought from far, and so may Flour, either by Land or Water, and brought in such vast Quantities at a time, as not to need frequent Repetitions. Hence therefore it comes to pass, not to mention other Reasons, That in Proportion as a Town or City increases, the Grounds around it are converted into Pasturage; and therefore from this partial View of the Case, some People have hastily concluded, That the Quantity of Arable Lands is decreasing, because they have happened to observe several Arable Lands laid down in Grass. Whereas in fact the Increase of Towns or Cities is a Proof of just the contrary;—only with this Difference, That the Corn brought to Mar-

ket comes from a greater Distance, than the Milk, Cheese, and Butter. But it is plain, That if the Markets for Corn increase, the Quantity of Arable Lands will not be diminished. — As to the Breed of Sheep, there is no fear that this will lessen, while the Inhabitants are increasing in Numbers, and are desirous of being fed with Lamb and Mutton, and continue well-disposed to wear worsted Stuffs and woollen Cloaths.

IV. ANOTHER Objection sometimes brought is, “That Inclosures “deprive many poor People, who had a Right to Common, of their just “Privileges, and thereby render them poorer than they were before.” — To which a very short Answer may be given, *viz.* That as to the Poor, their Circumstances are rendered much more eligible by the Discommoning of open Grounds, and Increase of Husbandry, than ever they were before. For the poorest Person now living, if he is industrious, may eat, sleep, and wear better, and have better Household Goods, and consequently be a Man of more *Property*, than Persons even of middling Fortunes in former times; so much is the comparative Wealth of this Nation increased. And indeed it is quite repugnant to Reason and Common Sense to suppose, That the Poor should be hurt by that very Method, which creates them constant Labour and Employment, and enables the Farmer to pay them good Wages. But in regard to their Right or Privilege of Common, that ought not to be taken from them without a full and ample Compensation: Nor on the other Hand ought either Poor or Rich to be indulged in a Petulancy of Humour to obstruct the Public Good, merely because they are resolved to adhere obstinately to the absurd and foolish Prejudices of their Forefathers.

V. LASTLY, It is pretended, “That Commons are good for rearing “young Cattle: Therefore by destroying them, you destroy the Nursery.” Now if it had been said, That Commons are good for starving and stunting young Cattle, there would have been much greater Truth in the Assertion. For the Fact is, That when the People of a certain District have an *unlimited* Right of Common, the Ground is so overstocked with Numbers, that no large sized, or generous Animal, whether Sheep, Horse, or Beast, can be bred upon it. And even where the Right is *limited*, Frauds are so very easily and frequently committed, that it amounts in the Event to near the same, as if there had been no Limitation at all. And indeed where no one Person is particularly called upon to watch and detect the Fraud, and where every one may hope to be winked at in his turn, it is absurd to suppose, that a very strict

strict Inquiry will be made. Nay, who will take upon him the odious Character of an *Informers* against his Neighbours? And why should this Man be over-busy, more than another? This is the Language, and these are the Sentiments, however unjustly it matters not, that will always prevail on such Occasions. As to the Article of rearing Lambs, Colts, or Calves, it is humbly apprehended, That clean Grounds and spacious Inclosures, properly watered and sheltered, can rear them as well, and afford Grass as good and plentiful, as wild barren Commons, overrun with Heath, Furze, Fern, or Brush-Wood:—Nor doth it appear, that there is any Virtue in stinking Marshes full of Pits and Holes, and covered with Sedges and Rushes, and particularly baneful to Sheep, more than in dry, rich, healthy Ground, with better Feed and less Danger.—If it should be said, That inclosed Ground, cannot be put to such Uses, because the Ground is too dear;—the Answer is, That we know the Fact to be otherwise already; and the more Ground there is inclosed, the less Weight there will be in this Objection.

WHEREFORE the Politics here proposed are as follow:

I. THAT in Case each Claimant's Right of Common is *limited*, it shall be a necessary Condition for applying to Parliament, That the Petitioners for dividing the Commons, or Common Fields, shall be the Proprietors of at least two thirds of this limited Right: *viz.* If the Number of Sheep are limited to six hundred, Horses to one hundred and fifty, and Cattle to one hundred and fifty, then if the Petitioners can make it appear, That they are possessed of the *Right* of sending two thirds into the Common, *viz.* four hundred Sheep, one hundred Horses, and one hundred Cattle, they shall have the Benefit to be hereafter mentioned.

II. THAT in Case the Right of each Claimant is *unlimited*, then it shall be necessary, That the Petitioners shall be two thirds more in Number, than the Non-Petitioners or Opponents. And Guardians may have the Liberty, both in this and the former Case, to give Consent for Minors.

III. THAT upon the fulfilling of these two Conditions, all Acts of Parliament for dividing Commons, and Common Fields, shall be considered as a truly *National Concern*; and consequently, That the *Parliamentary* Fees shall be defrayed by the Public, and charged to the current Service, according to the Custom in such Cases.

IV. THAT

IV. THAT in Case all the Claimants can agree, they may divide the Common among themselves, without farther trouble; and cause the Instrument of Division to be recorded among the Records of the County, either at the general, or the quarter Assizes.

Now by means of these Policies, all Persons will be encouraged to apply, who are now deterred by Reason of the great Expence. And yet as two thirds either in *Number* or *Property*, must become Petitioners in the one Case, before they can be intitled to obtain the Act *gratis*; and all must become unanimous in the other, before they can register it in the County Records, a reasonable Security is provided against Injustice or Oppression.—Indeed if such Policies could be obtained, they would be considered by all the Kingdom, as an *Invitation* to apply: And therefore many would apply who now remain silent. Particularly we would hope, that the Parishes and Districts within a Circle of forty Miles round about the Metropolis would not let such immense Tracts lie waste, and in a Manner useless, for want of Application to Parliament, or for want of agreeing among themselves to inclose them, as they now do.—Nay, in Fact, in the present State of these Commons, they are not only useless, but a Nuisance to Society. For so many Heaths and Commons round *London*, can answer no other End, but to be a Rendezvous for Highwaymen, and a commodious Scene for them to exercise their Profession. Whereas, had they been all cultivated and inclosed, an Hue and Cry might easily be raised; and it would be very dangerous, if not impossible, for Highwaymen to attempt to Rob in an inclosed Country thick set with Farm-Houses and Villages. Not to mention, that every Common near a Town or City is an irresistible Temptation to Horse-Racing, Idleness, Gaming, and all Sorts of Debauchery, which, if inclosed, might go in Aid of the Poor-Tax. Therefore it is certain that the Quantity both of Arable and Pasture, and Garden Grounds, and consequently the Increase of Riches, Industry, and Labour, would be much greater than indolent or self-interested People are willing to suppose. For it is a very moderate Calculation to allow, That at least two Millions of Acres within a Circle of forty Miles radius from the Suburbs of *London*, might be so improved, as to be worth five Shillings *per Acre*, one with another; more than they are at present. Now this is an Acquisition of *Landed Property* of Five hundred thousand Pounds a Year; which if Sold at twenty five Years Purchase, would yield Twelve million five hundred thousand Pounds Sterling! Is such a Sum as this to be lost to the Nation,

Nation,—to a Trading, Commercial Nation, and a Nation vastly in Debt, only for the Want of asking! And are Party or Faction, or Electioneering Interests, or the bewitching Temptations of an Horse-Race, to prevent such a Benefit as this!

LASTLY, Were the abovementioned Politics to be obtained, the rich Marshes, or Moors of *Somersetshire*, and of several other Counties in *England*, now lying in Common, and consequently of little Use the far greater Part of the Year, might all be drained, and rendered as fertile Districts as any in *Europe*. And our Sedge-Moors, Mark-Moors, Weston-Moors, Nailfy-Moors, Glastonbury-Moors, &c. &c. of *Somersetshire*, might then vie with, if not excel the * *Beemsters*, the *Purmerendes*, the *Schermers*, the *Wormers*, and the *Waerts* of *North Holland*. Particularly let me be permitted to observe, That as the Lands of *Somersetshire* have a certain Quality of producing the best and toughest Flax in the known World, a Polity of this Sort might be attended with such Consequences, as might employ many Thousands of Families in this single Article of Manufacture:—Besides the good Effects which such a Circulation of Industry and Labour would necessarily occasion in every other Part of Commerce. And would not such an Acquisition be more valuable, than a thousand Victories either by Land, or Sea? Nay, what need is there, that any State or Kingdom should engage in OFFENSIVE Wars to enlarge their Dominions, while so great a Part of what they already possess, remains uncultivated and unimproved?—In short, The mistaken Part of Mankind may call that Man an Hero, who makes a Country desolate: But certainly he is the true Hero who peoples a Country, and renders future Generations easy and happy, maugre all the foolish Opposition of his Contemporaries, and their absurd Prejudices.

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* “When a Stranger is at *Amsterdam*, it is worth his while to cross over to *North Holland*, alias *West Friesland*, and make a Tour of that small, but beautiful spot. Formerly it was a perfect Marsh, composed of many great Lakes, separated from each other only by high Roads or Dikes; but now nothing remains of them, except their Names and Dimensions in Maps. They are entirely drained, and metamorphosed into one of the most delightful Countries in the World. It is full of Towns and Villages, in the midst of pleasant Gardens and rich Pastures. With the Milk of their numerous Herds of Cows they make vast Quantities of excellent Cheese and Butter, which enrich the Country. Sir *William Temple* did not let this Corner escape his Observation. He says, the *Beemster* (formerly a rotten Marsh) is so well planted with Gardens, Orchards, Rows of Trees, and fertile Inclosures, [and note, he might have mentioned the vast Flocks of Sheep grazing upon it] that it makes the pleasantest Landskip he ever saw.—This Lake was drained in 1612, after four Years Labour. It contains 7090 Acres, besides the Highways and Dikes.” See *Description of Holland*, Page 380, 381.

SECTION III.

A Polity for changing Tithes into Glebe.

WHEN *Moses* instituted the Polity of the *Hebrew Commonwealth*, he balanced the Landed Property so equally between the twelve Tribes, that it was morally impossible for any one Tribe to make Conquest of the rest. For he ordered the Land to be divided to each Tribe by Lot; and each District was again subdivided among the particular Families of the Tribe. Now these Families were not suffered to intermarry with any others, but those of their own Tribe: And lest some more potent Families should arise and swallow up the rest, either by failure of Issue, intailing of Estates on Heirs Male, Purchases, or Mortgages; it was ordained, that in Case of failure of Issue, the next of Kin should marry the Widow, and raise up a new Family; in Case of failure of Sons, the Daughters should be joint Heiresses; and in Case of Purchases, the Purchase should be valid only for forty nine Years at the farthest, and then at the fiftieth Year, or Year of Jubilee, the Estate was to return to the Heirs at Law; lastly, in regard to Mortgages and Foreclosures, these were absolutely prevented by the Prohibition against lending Money on Interest or Usury. This being the State of Things, it is easy to see, That there could be no undue Monopoly of Land in such a Government. All were to have a Sufficiency, and none to have too much.

BUT as the Tribe of *Levi* was set apart for the Service of Religion, the Question is, How were they to be provided for? And this Question is the properer to be asked, because it was almost impossible to accommodate them with a Settlement or District after the Manner of the other Tribes. And therefore we find it expressly enjoined, That *Levi should have no Part, nor Inheritance with his Brethren*, Deut. x. 9. For indeed the very Nature of such an Inheritance would have confined them to one Spot; whereas it was intended, That they should be scattered among all the Tribes and Families of *Israel*, in order to be the Ministers and Teachers of Religion in every Place. On the other Hand, if they had been suffered to inherit, or ingross Lands at Pleasure throughout all the Tribes, this Privilege, together with the Influence of their sacred Character, might have created them such an undue Share of Power, as would have endangered the whole Constitution. Lastly, if they had been supported only by a certain invariable Tax, this would

would have degenerated into the Nature of a *Modus*, and have never kept Pace with the comparative Riches, or Poverty of the rest of the People:—Not to mention, that a *Modus*, or *fixt* Salary, would have been a very weak Incitement to the Passion of Self-Love to co-operate with the Genius of the Constitution, and the Design of the Legislature; it having been the grand Plan of this divine Legislator to constitute such a Polity in all Respects, as would engage the Individual to pursue the Interest of the Public, because he would pursue his own.

HENCE therefore some other Settlement or Appointment must have taken Place, in order to do Justice to the Tribe of *Levi* for the Loss they sustained in being deprived of their Share of their Inheritance among their Brethren, and to support them properly as Ministers of Religion. And that Appointment was *TITHES*; a Method of Support the best calculated for the Genius of that Government, and the Circumstances of the *Hebrew* People. Nay, it deserves to be taken Notice of, That *Moses* interwove the Appointment of Tithes with the Discharge of Religious Offices in such a Manner, That in Proportion as the Priests and Levites were remiss in the one, they lost their Quota of the other: So that it became their *immediate Interest*, as well as *Duty*, to inculcate the Ordinances of the Law, on which depended their present Support, and to prevent the People from deviating into Idolatry, or falling off from the Terms of the Covenant. Now this admirable Polity, so deeply laid and surprizingly judicious, was relative only to that *Theocratic* Constitution, which *Moses* established;—A Constitution now no more, and which it would be both impious, and absurd to attempt to revive at this Day. Consequently those antient Fathers, *Origen*, *St Ambrose*, *St Austin*, &c. &c. who maintained, That Tithes were of divine Right under the Gospel, because they were so under the Law, must have had very imperfect Notions both of Law and Gospel, and had made little Progress in distinguishing the *Peculiarities* of the one, from the *Universality* of the other.

INDEED it is certain, That every Order of Men, Clergy or Laity, who are useful to Society, have a just and equitable, and therefore a *divine* Right to be supported in their Profession, suitably to their Station: And consequently in this Sense the Christian Clergy have most indubitably a divine Right to a decent and sufficient Subsistence,—such a Subsistence as will put them above the Contempt of the Poor, and below the Envy of the Great. And this doth well agree with *St Paul's* Declaration, who delivers it not as from himself, but immediately from God: viz. *Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the*

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Gospel,

Gospel, should live of the Gospel. But neither our Lord, nor St Paul, nor any other inspired Writer of the New Testament, suggest a Syllable concerning the *Necessity* of continuing that Part of the Jewish Law which relates to Tithes! Nay, if the Practice of St Paul, and his Advice to the *Corinthians* and *Galatians* were to be considered as a Rule in this Case, the quite contrary might be gathered from them. It is therefore exceeding strange, That so many Christians, antient and modern, who thought they could never express too great an Abhorrence of Jewish Rites and Doctrines, should yet adopt some of the *most glaring* Parts of Judaism (for this is not the only one) and so far commence Jews themselves.

THE Reason therefore for the original Appointment of Tithes having ceased with the Levitical Priesthood, it is natural to conclude, even without farther Proof, That the Introduction of this Law into the Christian Dispensation must have been improper, or at least unnecessary. Let us now therefore inquire, what Effects have followed from it.

AND *first*, This Appointment, in a Commercial and Political View, must be considered as a Tax upon the Subject for the Support of an useful and necessary Order of Men.—But alas! it is such a Tax, as plainly tends to stop Industry, to discourage Improvements and good Husbandry, to favour Idleness, and introduce Poverty. For the more diligent and industrious a Man is, the more he is subject to the Impositions of this Tax: Whereas the bad Husbandman and the Sluggard, who are really the Drones of Society, escape in a manner Scot-free. Now this Proceeding is the very Reverse of what a good Tax ought to be: And though I am far from thinking, that the Clergy in *England* have too much, or even a sufficient Provision in Proportion to the present *increased* Wealth of the Laity, yet I do maintain, that this Tax is more heavy and oppressive in its Consequences, than many others, though they produce three times the Sum. For the Nature of Taxations ought never to be judged of from the Amount of the Sum collected, but from the Effect of the Tax upon the Dispositions and Resolutions of Mankind. And Fact it is, That when a Farmer finds he cannot exert his Industry, without paying so dearly for a *Licence*, he will often content himself with sitting still. Instances of this kind are daily occurring, especially in regard to the Introduction of new Improvements. Nor is it to any Effect to say, That the Landholder by so doing is chiefly his own Enemy: For a Fact is no less certain, because the Motives to it may not be solid: And such is the Disposition of Mankind, that it is with Difficulty you can persuade them to be industrious,

trious, unless you can prove likewise, that their Gettings shall become their own. And it is this very Principle in regard to the Land-Tax, which hath so effectually induced the Landholders in *England* to cultivate and improve their Estates: For they know, That the Land-Tax will not be raised the higher in a well-cultivated County, Hundred, or Parish, than if the County, Hundred, or Parish, had remained unimproved: Therefore all the additional Improvements become their own. Whereas were the Land-Tax to rise in Proportion to the *increased* Value of the Lands (which is the Case in *France*, where both the *Taille*, and the *Dixieme* vary every Year) this Island, which hath been so surprizingly improved within these last sixty Years, would have remained in *Statu quo*, like the rest of its Neighbours; and the Spirit of Industry and good Husbandry would have been nipped in the Bud.

SECONDLY, In a religious View the Appointment of Tithes is to be considered as the Support of the Ministers of Religion:—But it is such a Support, as naturally, I had almost said necessarily, tends to set the Incumbent and his Parishioners at Variance with each other. For when the Maintenance of the Clergyman is to depend on Tithes, it is obvious, That every Parishioner can cheat him if he pleases: And therefore, without intending any Reflection, we may justly conclude, that where the Temptation is so strong and universal, a great many will yield to it, and cheat in some degree or other. Hence it comes to pass, that tho' the Incumbent should be of the sweetest Temper, and mildest Disposition in the World, this is enough to sour him and make him fretful: And if he should happen to be naturally choleric or contentious, he will never want Provocations, while he has to do with Tithes. Perhaps the Charge of Fraud, which he can *legally* support in a Court of Judicature against any particular Person, may be but a Trifle;—such a Trifle as would cause a Man to be greatly exclaimed against, if he went to Law for the Recovery of it: And yet the Amount of these Trifles all over the Parish may make one third, or one half of his whole Income: So that the poor Man is reduced to this unhappy Dilemma, either to sit down quietly, and see himself defrauded of half his Income, while himself and his Family are wanting it,—or to bear the Character of an angry, litigious Person, who, though the Minister of Peace, is always at war with his Parishioners, and insisting upon such mean, trifling Articles, as a Layman would scorn to contend for. In short, when the Case is thus circumstanced, what can be expected, but the very Things which the Apostle saith ought to be put away among Christians, *viz.* Bitterness and Wrath, Anger, Clamor, and Evil-speaking?

ing? And why should the Polity of our Constitution concerning the Maintenance of the Clergy *counter-act* those very Principles of Christian Love and Benevolence, which the Clergy are particularly called upon to recommend to others, and to practise themselves?—Surely it would be judged the wrongest and most absurd Proceeding in the World, in the Affairs of Government and Civil Life, to require one Thing by Principle, and yet to institute a Polity for inflaming the Passions, the Passion of Self-Love especially, strongly in behalf of another.—But nevertheless as the Evil is inveterate, and of a very long standing, we must not be precipitate or violent in the Means of a Cure, but apply those Methods only which are gentle and gradual.

WHEREFORE the Polity here proposed is such, as will scarce admit of any Difficulty in the Execution, when once established: *viz.* To pass a Law for empowering the Parties concerned to exchange Tithes for Lands, whenever they shall find it their mutual Interest so to do.—But in order to guard against those Collusions and Impositions, which may attend such a Power of exchanging, it may be necessary to make both the Patron of the Living, and the Bishop of the Diocese, Parties in this Case, together with the Incumbent. And then, when the Incumbent, the Patron, and the Bishop, are all satisfied, that the proposed Exchange will be for the Advantage of the Church in question, they may sign an Instrument of Exchange to the Landholder, in the same Manner as he is to deliver over a Counter-deed to them. Moreover, as such Exchanges will naturally create a great many petty Glebes in different Parts of the Parish, and perhaps in different Parishes, it will be necessary to continue a like Power of exchanging these scattered Parcels of Glebe for other Lands, that may happen to lie more convenient and contiguous.—In the mean Time, till these second Exchanges can be effected, the Incumbent will certainly be benefited, not only because the first or original Exchange was to his Advantage, but also because the worst Circumstance of scattered Glebes are more desirable than those of scattered Tithes,—especially such which are *Vicarial*. And when he can have drawn his Glebes together by subsequent Interchanges, he may make the Rectory or Vicarage both a very valuable, and compact Endowment. But be that as it may; certain it is, That the Farmer or Landholder will behold this Endowment of Glebe with very different Eyes, to what he doth that of Tithes; nor will he grudge his Parish-Minister the full Enjoyment of his legal Rights, be they more or less. On the other Hand, all Causes of Complaint and Dispute on the Part of the Incumbent, will then be taken away; so that both may live

live in mutual Harmony, as they ought to do, and be assisting to each other in mutual good Offices. Add to this, That when the Landholder can have all his Lands Tithe-free, the very Addition of Straw and Hay, and consequently of Manure, hence occasioned, will enable him both to support a larger Stock of Sheep, Horses, and Cattle, and also to dress and manure his Grounds more effectually, for raising greater Quantities of Corn.—Nor will he then be discouraged from putting in Execution any Scheme for Improvement, when he knows, That all his Labour and Industry will be his own.

Thus therefore might the whole Tithes of the Kingdom be changed in a Course of Years into Glebe, without Ferment, Opposition, or Contention. For as all Transactions would be voluntary, no Man could have a Right to complain: And yet every Man concerned would be desirous of making the Exchange here proposed, because his own Interest would suggest it to him. And such a Method of supporting the Clergy, though it may be subject to some Inconveniences, (as every thing is) would certainly be preferable, in our Situation, to any other. For in regard to the Appointment of Tithes, the very great Inconveniences attending this System, have been set forth already: And in relation to a fixt Tax, a Pound Rate, or Modus, this would not only be wrong, because it makes no Distinction between the *comparative* Wealth, or Poverty of the rest of the Nation at different Periods of Time, but because no kind of *annual* Tax, be it more or less, will ever be paid by the Parishioners to their Clergy, with an hearty good Will, and sincere Approbation.

LASTLY, As the Case of the Levitical Priesthood, which was hereditary in one Tribe, hath no Analogy with that of the Clergy of the Church of *England*, whose Wealth, if they have any, sinks again into the common Stock of the Laity, and who can have no separate Interests from the rest of the Nation; so likewise it will be proper to observe, That the Science of Agriculture may probably receive considerable Improvements, when Men of Letters are engaged in its Pursuit. For the Ignorance of the common Herd of Mankind, and their Prejudices and Attachments to old Customs, are really astonishing. And though much might be expected from Farmers and Occupiers of Land, because they are daily conversant in these Affairs, yet in Fact it will be found, that they too often proceed on by Rote, keeping to the Practice of their Forefathers, without inquiring whether it was right, or wrong. If *Virgil* of old, or the very worthy Dr *Hales* of modern times, had proceeded upon the same Plan, the one had never wrote that very judicious,

dicious, as well as beautiful Poem, called the *Georgics*, nor the other his *Vegetable Statics*.

S E C T I O N IV.

A Polity for increasing Buildings in low, fenny or marshy Grounds, and rendering them healthy.

IF suitable Polities can be established for the Draining, and Cultivation of Fens, Moors, and Marshes (which was the Thing attempted to be proved in the second Section of this Chapter) it follows of Course, That Houses ought to be built in them, and these Houses rendered as desirable, and healthy as the Situation will admit. And it is humbly conceived, That Art and good Management can go a great Way in this Matter. But before we enter directly upon the Subject, it will be necessary to premise a few Observations.

It appears therefore to be a general Rule, That Lands are best cultivated and taken Care of, *cæteris paribus*, when the Farm-house is pretty near the Center, and equidistant from all Parts of the Estate; because all the Estate can be better looked after. And the same Reason should weigh with Gentlemen to part their Estates into moderate Farms, rather than join moderate Farms together to make large ones; or in Case they are very large already, it would be certainly right to divide them into two, or three Shares. For when the Farm is of such a vast Extent, the Estate will not be duly cultivated; nor will the Farmer mind his Business as a *Farmer*; but will commence a kind of Gentleman, doing no Work himself, and only riding about to inspect others. And this Principle will extend itself to the rest of his Family, so that the Work of an whole Family will be intirely lost to the Community. In short, it is in Agriculture, as in Manufactures; *viz.* The more Rivals, where all may live decently, but none superfluously, the more industrious they will all be; and they will do their Work in greater Perfection. Now a Farm of four or five, not to mention seven or eight hundred Pounds a Year is certainly a *Monopoly* in its kind; because it would have afforded a comfortable Subsistence to three, or four Families, if divided into so many distinct Farms. And indeed it is attended with all the bad Effects which other Monopolies are, such as dispeopling a Country, and preventing the Increase of Inhabitants, raising one sort of Persons too high, and depressing others too low: All which must be greatly injurious to national Industry, good Husbandry, and extensive Commerce. Moreover it is impossible to suppose, that

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a Man who hath ten or twenty Servants to inspect, can look after them as well, as he that hath only two or three, and is working himself together with them.

Now if these Arguments are conclusive even in respect to dry, champaign Countries, they will be found to conclude much stronger in regard to Fens or Marshes. For in the first Place, rich, fat, and fertile Grounds, such as those generally are, do not require a large Extent of Country to make up a competent Farm. For a Quantity of two hundred, perhaps one hundred Acres of such Grounds may be a more valuable Estate, than two thousand Acres upon barren and bleak Hills. In the next Place the very Cottagers can derive a better Maintenance from two Acres of Ground in such Low-lands, than from forty in many Sorts of High-lands. For out of this little Plot they may spare an half, or a third every Year, for sowing of Flax, which Vegetable never can flourish well but in a moist, deep, and rich Soil; and requires to be watered after it is pulled; otherwise it will never be fit for use. Now in marshy Grounds, where the whole Country is intersected by Canals (as shall be described hereafter) there can be no want of Water: And even if we could suppose, That a Man was denied the Use of the public Canals for that purpose, he might dig a Pit in his own Garden at Pleasure; so that the Flax sown on this Acre of Ground, from the sowing it, throughout all the Stages, till the manufacturing it into Yarn or Thread, and perhaps into Cloth, may be performed by a Cottager within his own Family, and reward his Industry with at least twenty, perhaps thirty, or even forty Pounds a Year. Judge now what an Advantage this would be both to the *local* Interests of a County, and to the general Interests of a Kingdom;—especially when it is considered, that most of this Labour is performed at spare Hours, when the Family would have had little else to do, if they had not done this. Therefore what an astonishing Loss must this Nation sustain in leaving such immense Quantities of its richest Grounds to lie waste and uninhabited! Surely, surely it is high time to rouse out of this Lethargy! But there is yet one Reason more to be given for rendering a Fenny or Swampy Country as populous as possible, which certainly deserves a very particular Regard; and that is, That the more populous you render a marshy Country, the more healthy it becomes. For every Fire, and every Drain is of Service to purify the Air, and to prevent or correct those Fogs and Damps which are so noxious to animal Life.

BUT still it must be owned, That according to the present Method of Building in such low Places, there is no Incouragement to build more.

more. For the Agues and Seasonings, the Scurvies and putrid Fevers bred in marshy Grounds, make such Havock among the Inhabitants, that very few would care to live there, who can live any where else. Now the Unwholsomeness of these Places must certainly be owing to those Effluvia and Exhalations which arise from rotten Grounds and stagnating Waters; whereby the Air is filled with noxious Particles and various Animalcula, and consequently rendered unfit for Animal, at least for *Human* Use. This being the Case, the very Nature of the Disease suggests the Cure: For if the corrupted State of the Atmosphere is the Original of these Disorders, two Things are necessary to be done: viz. *First*, To purify the Air as much as possible by Fires and Drains, according to what hath been observed above. And *secondly*, To build the Houses in such a manner, as shall cause the Inhabitants to live out of the reach of the noxious Part of this Atmosphere.

Now the latter is the peculiar Aim and Design of this Polity: And then, if the Habitations can be made healthy, there is no need to fear, but that the Country would soon be rendered populous; and by Consequence, the additional Number of Drains and Fires will still correct the natural Dampness of the Situation. Suppose therefore, That an Act was passed for granting certain Privileges or Exemptions (herein after mentioned) to such Dwelling-Houses situated in Fens and Marshes, as shall be built according to the following Direction; viz. That the Ground or First Floors shall be raised two Feet at least above the common Surface, and be arched over, but have no Chimnies in them; That all the Floors above them, being built upon these Arches, shall be at least fourteen Feet in the clear, higher than the Ground Floors, and be accommodated with Fire-places;—And then the rest of the Building (where higher Stories are required) may be left to the Pleasure and Discretion of the Proprietors. Now by Virtue of this Regulation, the Rooms which the Family shall inhabit, (for they cannot inhabit the Ground-Rooms below Stairs without a Fire-place) these Rooms, I say, built upon Arches, will necessarily be dry and warm; And as they are likewise raised sixteen Feet at least above the Level of the Country, they will be placed in a different Climate, so that the Inhabitants will breathe a much purer Air, than they otherwise could do. For it is observable, that the more noxious Damps and Vapours seldom rise higher than eight, or ten Feet; And the most malignant Steams of all do not rise so high; As appears by the Experiment of the famous *Grotto del Canp* in Italy. — But even though we should allow, that sometimes Fumes and Exhalations will rise to the Height of sixteen Feet, and upwards;

upwards; yet they will necessarily become harmless and inoffensive in Proportion as they spread through a greater Space, like the expanding Rays of a Circle; and therefore the Quantity of noxious Matter will always be diminished according as the Squares of the Distances from the Surface are increased: So that tho' you should allow, That a Dose of eighty Grains of any poisonous Vapour, will prove fatal to human Life at the Distance of four Feet from the Surface, it by no Means follows, That a Dose of only ten Grains at the Distance of sixteen Feet, shall be attended with any ill Effect whatever. Add to this, That the higher the People live above this gross and corrupt Atmosphere, the greater Advantage they will receive, generally speaking, from a Current of Wind dissipating and dispelling the unwholesome Effluvia, and bringing a Stream of fresh and sweet Air from a drier Country.

THESE Reasonings perhaps may appear to some Persons too finely spun, and inconclusive:—I must therefore add, That they are not merely Speculations, but fully warranted by Fact and Experience: For the famous City of *Venice*, besides other Places, affords such a Proof of the Truth of these Assertions, as should remove all Doubt, and silence Objections; this City being built not only in a Marsh, but, what is much worse, on a watry Ooze, where there is little, if any Tide; and where there is no strong Current to preserve the Waters from Putrefaction:—Yet this City is not remarkably unhealthy, nor do the Inhabitants find so much Inconvenience from their damp Situation, as the Inhabitants of the Hundreds of *Essex*, the Fens of *Ely*, or the Marshes of *Somersetshire*. But the Advantage which this City enjoys is, That it is built in the manner above described, the first or ground Floors being used only for Magazines or Storehouses, and the Floors above them being the constant Residence of the Family: Moreover the like Practice obtains at *Marseilles*, *Bordeaux*, and other Places. And why it should not obtain universally here in *England*, where Cautions of this sort are very necessary, is hard to say:—For undoubtedly an House so constructed, would cost very little, if any thing more (especially in Fens and Marshes, where Bricks can be made upon the Spot) I say, it would hardly cost any thing more, than one built after the present Form: Add to this, That the Arches of such an House would last much longer than Timber can be supposed to do; and the Danger from Fires would be much less; nor would these lower Rooms be at all useless or improper in any Family.

BUT Custom hath determined it otherwise in *England*; and Custom is a Tyrant not easily overcome. Let us see therefore, how far we

might prevail with Self-Love and Self-Interest to withstand this Tyrant. For old Prejudices are never to be *nationally* subdued, till the Individuals, of which the Nation consists, are brought to make it a common Cause. This being the Case, let us not aim at too many Things at first, but confine the Polity to such Buildings only as shall be erected in fenny and marshy Grounds, and those Grounds which were before Common, because their Situation doth most require it, and because there can no Objections be raised against granting Privileges and Exemptions to Common Grounds, which never paid any Tax before.

FIRST then, If an House, built as above described, should be exempt from paying the Window-Tax the first ten Years after its Erection, this would be some Encouragement to build.

SECONDLY, If the Occupier or Inhabitant should likewise be free from serving any Offices he should please to decline for the first ten Years, this would be some farther Inducement.

THIRDLY, If the Inhabitant and the Lands were to be exempted from all County, Hundred, or Parish Taxes, for the like Space of ten Years, this would operate still more strongly.

LASTLY, If the House, together with all the Grounds belonging to it, not exceeding two hundred Acres, were to be freed from the Payment of the Land-Tax for the first ten Years, this, together with the other three, would undoubtedly be effectual Incouragement to build. And thus might the fenny Wastes, and desolate Marshes of *England*, which at present pay no Taxes of any kind, and contribute very little, if any thing to the public Utility, thus might they, I say, be covered with good, comfortable, and wholesome Dwellings, and contribute as much towards enriching the Community, and defraying the necessary Expences of the State, in the Course of a few Years, as any other Part of the Kingdom. And surely it is much more delightful even by way of Prospect from an Eminence, to see a rich Vale, where the industrious Inhabitants are at Work, like the Bees, each at his proper Employment, and to view their decent Houses, numerous Flocks and Herds, fine Plantations and well cultivated Grounds, than it is to behold a large standing Lake in Winter, or a dead, flat Plain in Summer, with nothing to diversify the Scene but Black Cattle for a few Months.

AND now, as the Subject falls naturally in our Way, it may not be amiss to set down an easy Method for draining large Fens or Marshes, where it is not practicable to open a Passage for carrying off the Waters. Suppose a Fen or Meer of a quadrangular Figure, containing about ten thousand Acres, which Fen is two Feet under Water during the greater

Part

Part of the Year. Now the first Thing to be done in such a Case is, to choose a very dry Summer for digging a large Trench of at least twelve Feet deep, and sixty broad, at the very Edge of the Meer, to go quite round it; and with the Earth taken out of this Trench you should make firm, broad, and high Banks, especially that Bank which is on the outer-side.—Then, the next Year, when the Ground hath been somewhat drained by this Trench, you are to dig, at the Distance of an hundred Yards, an *inner* Trench of about ten Feet deep, and forty wide, which is likewise to be carried quite round the Meer; and with the Earth of this second Trench make good the inner Bank of the first Year's Trench: Let both these Banks be raised to the Height of ten or twelve Feet above the Level, but made exceeding strong and firm; for all will depend upon their Strength and Goodness. Then the third Year you are to cut Trenches across, and along, so as to divide the whole Ground into Shares of about two hundred Acres each, and these Trenches may be made only six Feet deep;—but all should communicate, either directly or indirectly, with the Trench of the second Year, *viz.* that which is ten Feet deep: And the Earth taken out of these Trenches should not be raised into Banks, but spread abroad upon the Surface, in order to raise the Ground somewhat above its natural Level.

Now it is obvious, That as all the Trenches of six Feet deep communicate with that of ten, which we will term the *Canal*, the Water will have a sufficient Descent to run into that Canal; wherefore the only remaining Difficulty is, to get the Water out of this Canal into the great Canal of all, *viz.* that which was first made, and is encompassed with Banks twelve Feet high;—and for the Sake of Distinction, may be called the *Grand Reservoir*. Now this is easily performed by the help of a Windmill or two, placed at proper Distances, and so contrived as to work a Set of Pumps for raising the Water out of the Canal into the Reservoir. But when there happens to be no Occasion for making these Evacuations, the Mills may be employed in grinding Corn, sawing Timber, making Paper, expressing Oil, and the like, according to the Custom in *Holland*. Lastly, In regard to the Waters of the grand Reservoir, if any Danger should be apprehended from their rising too high, Pipes may be laid in the outermost high Bank for carrying off the surplus Water into some neighbouring Brook or River, or to the Sea. And surely this may be done without much Charge or Difficulty. For though the Thing was impracticable, while the Water lay upon a Level with the rest of the Country, yet when it is raised

eight or ten Feet above the Surface by means of these high Banks, there can be no great Art, Expence, or Difficulty in laying Pipes for carrying it away.

AND thus might the whole Fen, or Meer, be turned into dry Lands, as the Meers in *Holland* have frequently been, at the Expence of thirty, or at most forty thousand Pounds Capital; and create a Landed Interest of about seven thousand Pounds a Year. For after the most ample Allowance is made for the Ground taken up in Banks, Reservoirs, Canals, Trenches, Public Roads, &c. there will remain about six thousand six hundred Acres of extremely rich and fertile Lands. And if these are divided into thirty three Shares, they will make so many distinct Estates of two hundred Acres each. Now if one of these Shares, *viz.* That which is nearest the Center, was set apart for a Church, a Glebe, and a little Town, (which might easily be done by allotting one hundred and fifty Acres for the Glebe, one for the Church and Church-yard, and forty nine for the Town) this District would be converted into a very comfortable and happy Neighbourhood of middling Gentry, substantial Shopkeepers, industrious Tradesmen, and useful Mechanics.— A District, I say, which was a wide Waste and Desolation before.

MOREOVER, each Gentleman's Estate might be adorned with Plantations of Planes and Poplars, Withies and other Trees, which delight in a moist Situation;—and these might be so placed round the Trenches on the Confines of their Estates, that no Ground would be really lost, but all contribute both to Use and Beauty. Indeed the Trenches would require to be new dug every three or four Years, but the Expence would not be very great, and the rich Mould taken out, would both serve to manure the Surface, and to raise it. As to the great Canal, and the great Reservoir, these two would answer all the Purposes of an inland Navigation; and the grand Reservoir, in which there would be no Necessity of steeping Flax, might be well stocked with various kinds of Pond Fish.

S E C T I O N V.

A Polity for creating a Plenty of Timber.

THE Necessity of establishing such a Polity in every Commercial and Maritime State must certainly be very great, and the Reasons for it are strong and cogent.—But yet these Reasons, in my humble Opinion, are somewhat different from what are generally imagined.

FOR

FOR first, though it is the received Opinion, That the Quantity of Timber in this Island hath greatly decreased of late Years, and that the present Scarcity and Dearness are to be ascribed to that Cause; yet, with due Deference to the public Judgment, I apprehend, That it is not quite so clear, that the *Quantity* is diminished, as that the *Demand* is increased; and therefore, that the Scarcity and Dearness of the Commodity are properly to be ascribed to the prodigious Increase of the Demand. But as this is very far from being the generally received Notion, let us endeavour to examine the Matter with the more Accuracy. Be it therefore remembered, That, in antient Times, the different Parts of this Kingdom, like every other uncultivated Country, were quite upon the Extremes in regard to Wood. For where the Timber grew naturally, without Care or Culture, there the Country was covered with a thick impenetrable Forest of many Miles extent: But on the other Hand; where the Soil was not naturally disposed for Timber (tho' Trees might have been raised by means of skilful Husbandry, proper Shelter and Inclosures) in those Parts, I say, the Scene was quite the reverse. This being the Case, it must certainly follow, That almost all sorts of heathy Grounds, chalky, gravelly, and flinty Commons, high Uplands, wild Downs, Fens and Swamps, besides all Places exposed to the Air of the Sea, were very naked and bare of Trees. Whereas, in modern Times, these Things are brought more to a Medium: For excellent Grass and Corn are raised in many Places where nothing but Wood grew formerly: And on the other Hand, since so many Fens and Marshes have been drained, since heathy Grounds, Commons, Uplands, and Downs have been inclosed and cultivated, the Numbers of Vistas, Clumps, Plantations, Parks, Groves, Gardens, Walks, Hedge Rows, Orchards, &c. have greatly increased the Quantity of Trees:— So that perhaps, when one thing is weighed with the other, it will not be found, that the real Quantity of Timber hath so much decreased as People do hastily imagine. And this will farther appear by considering the Subject in another Light, *viz.* That the present Scarcity of Wood is really owing to the prodigious Multiplication of its Uses of late Years: For if the Mass of the People were to use no more Timber in their Shipping, Houses, Furniture, Utensils, Manufactures, Mines, Iron Works, &c. &c. than their Forefathers did about seven hundred Years ago, the present Quantity of Timber would be so far from being insufficient to the Demand, that it would be really a Drug. But the Truth is, that though perhaps the Number of People is not six Times greater than in the Reign of Henry II. the Uses and Application of Timber are certainly

certainly six hundred Times more.—In short, if you were to suppose, that all the common and middling People of *England* consumed no more Timber at present than the Highlanders of *Scotland*, and the old Natives of *Ireland* now do in building and furnishing their Huts and Cabbins, and that they had no more Shipping, Trade and Manufactures, you would soon find, that there would be Timber enough in this Island, and to spare.

SECONDLY, Though it is a Notion almost universally received, that *English* Oak is the best in the World for building Ships of War, and though it is the vulgar Opinion, that the *British* Fleet acquires a Superiority over all others by means of the superior Qualities of *British* Oak; yet these Opinions having no Foundation in Reason and Nature, ought to be rejected by Men of Sense as VULGAR ERRORS. For it is impossible that *English* Oak can be fit for building large Ships of War, inasmuch as *English* Timber never can arrive at a Size large enough for that Purpose till it is past its Prime, and is decaying and perishing with Age. Indeed the *English* Oak may serve for *Ribs* and *cross Timbers* as well as any other: But as to the *outward Planks*, or Sides of the Ship, that *English* Oak cannot serve for these Purposes, will appear both from the Reasonings, and Authority of the following Paper, taken from the Memoirs of Mr *Pepys*, Secretary to the Admiralty.

“ RESOLUTIONS taken at a Conference held at the Office
“ of the Navy, *April* 17, 1686, between His Majesty’s Commis-
“ sioners there, and us the underwritten Shipwrights, upon In-
“ quiries then proposed by the Secretary of the Admiralty on the
“ Behalf of His Majesty, touching the present Condition of this
“ Kingdom in reference to Plank for Ship-building.”

“ INQUIRY I. How far may it be depended on, that *England* may
“ at this Day supply itself with a Sufficiency of that Commodity, for
“ answering the Occasions both of the Merchants and His Majesty’s
“ Service (in the State the Royal Navy now is) without foreign Helps?”

“ RESOLUTION. That it is in no wise to be relied on: Forasmuch
“ as from the Want of Plank of our own Growth, and consequently
“ the Highness of the Price of what we have, the Shipwrights of this
“ Kingdom (even in our Out-Ports, as well as in the River of *Thames*)
“ have been for many Years past driven to resort to Supplies from
“ Abroad; and are so at this Day, to the occasioning their spending of
“ one

“ one hundred Loads of foreign, for every twenty of *English*. Besides, were our own Stock more, the Exclusion of foreign Goods would soon render the Charge of Building insupportable, by raising the Price of the Commodity to double what it is, and more, at the Pleasure of the Seller.”

“ INQUIRY II. From whence is the best foreign Plank understood to be brought?”

“ RESOLUTION. Either out of the East Sea, from *Dantzick*, *Quinborough* or *Riga*; of the Growth of *Poland* or *Prussia*; or from *Hamburgh*, namely, that Sort thereof which is shipped from thence, of the Growth of *Bohemia*, distinguished by its Colour, as being much more black than the other, and rendered so (as is said) by its long sobbing in the Water during its Passage thither.”

“ INQUIRY III. What Proportion this foreign Plank may be reckoned to bear to the *English*?”

“ RESOLUTION. For so much as concerns smaller Vessels, of four-score Tons downwards, whose Works call for not more than two-inch Plank, of twenty Foot long at the highest, meeting at thirteen or fourteen Inches in breath, our *English* Plank will, from the Nature of the Wood, last longer than any foreign of the same Dimensions. But [Note,] for Ships of three hundred Tons upwards, which require the Service of three or four-inch Plank, from twenty six to forty Foot long, meeting at fourteen or fifteen Inches breadth at the Top-End, universal Practice shews, that the white Crown Plank of *Prussia*, and the forementioned black of *Bohemia*, do in their durability equal, or rather exceed that of our *English* Productions of the like Dimensions: Which we conceive to arise from this plain Reason, viz. That the foreign Oak being of much quicker growth than ours, their Trees arrive at a Stature capable of yielding Plank of these Measures, while they are yet in their sound and vigorous State of growing; whereas that of *England*, advancing in its Growth more slowly, arrives not at these Dimensions, till it becomes to, or rather is past the full of its Strength; fifty Years sufficing for raising the foreign, to what the *English* will not be brought in an hundred and fifty. But whether we are right or not in this Reasoning, it is, upon daily Experience, most evident, that our *East India* and other Ships of greatest Burden, built with this large foreign Plank well chosen, prove in
“ their

" *their Durableness without Exception:—*Variety of Instances lying before us of Ships built wholly of *English* Stuff, as well in His Majesty's Yards, as Merchants, which *have perished in half the Time*, others of the like Burden, composed wholly of foreign have been observed to do."

" *Also* it is, that *English* Plank of *short length*, cut out of young, growing Timber, is manifestly better than East Country, and therefore is preferred thereto in laying of a Gun-Deck, as far as the three Streaks next the Ship's Sides, where short Stuff will serve (the Quality of its Wood bearing better with being kept wet and dry, as is generally in that Place) yet where, upon the same Gun-Deck, long Plank is necessary, that of foreign Growth, for *Strength* and *Durability*, is always preferred, from the Reason, as we conceive, before given; *viz.* That of its being cut while in its Vigour, which the *English* will not admit so as to bear those Scantlings. And to this is to be farther added the general Waniness, want of Breadth at the Top-End, and ill Method of Conversion of our *English* Plank; daily Practice shewing, that twenty Loads of foreign, shall, in working go further upon a Ship's Side, or Deck, than an hundred Loads of the like Lengths of *English*, after its Wanes, and other Defects shall be cut away."

" *Moreover*, it is yet to be noted, That in planking of a Ship with foreign Plank, the Builder shall not be driven to put in above three or four Pieces; whereas in a like Ship, done with *English*, he shall be obliged to use an hundred, to the *no less Impairment* of the *Strength of the Work*, than Increase of its Charge both in Stuff and Labour. So that upon the Whole, our UNANIMOUS OPINION is, That large Plank well chosen, of the foreign Growths before mentioned is, in its Service, *at least as durable*, in its Cost *less chargeable*, and the Use of it, through the Scarcity of *English*, become at this Day *indispensable*.

" *Jonas Shish, Hen. Johnson, Pet. Narberry, Abr. Greaves,*

" *Jos. Lawrence, John Shish, Jam. Yeames, Wm Collint,*

" *Rob. Castel.*

" *WE* do fully concur in the Resolutions above written.

" *A. DEAN, J. NARBOROUGH,*

" *J. BERRY, PH. PET,*

" *WILL. HEWER, B. S. MITCHEL.*

Now

Now from this, and the former State of the Case, it appears very clearly, That the present Scarcity of Timber arises, *principally* at least, from the increased Demand; and that this increased Demand is chiefly owing to the superior Numbers of People, and to the rapid Progress which the Inhabitants of this Island have lately made in almost all Arts and Sciences, Trades and Manufactures. Consequently it must follow, That in proportion as the Country shall still grow more populous, and make farther Advances in the Arts and Ornaments of Living, the Demand for Timber will still increase, and our present Necessities will yet be greater. Moreover as to Shipping and Navigation, though it hath been fully proved, that the *English* Plank is not fit for building large Ships of War, and consequently that our wooden Walls, so much our Glory, are not altogether *English*; yet the same Judges have declared, that *English* Oak is particularly excellent for Ships of a small Burden:—Nay they give plain Hints, that the Plank will serve very well for any Ships not exceeding two hundred and fifty, or three hundred Tons. Now the far greater Part of the Shipping employed in the Merchants Service, and all the Coasting Vessels, are within the Dimensions here prescribed. And as to the Royal Navy itself, though the Planks must be Foreign, the Ribs and Knees, and crooked Timbers, might all be *English*;—and such *English* as need not exceed their prime State of growing, when cut down. So that upon the whole, after vulgar Errors are set aside, there are still Reasons sufficiently strong and cogent (and surely they ought not to be the less convincing, because they are *true*) for encouraging the Growth of all Sorts of Timber as much as possible, and Oak particularly. In a word, Timber is a *raw Material*, whose Demand is increasing, and whose Uses are multiplying every Day.

HENCE therefore it is natural to ask, How comes it to pass, that Self-Love, the grand Mover of *created* Beings, should want an Incitement in this Case more than in any others? For when the Demand increases, the Price increases likewise: And if the Price is enhanced, is not this itself a sufficient Spur for planting Timber, without any other political Inforcement? To this I answer, That if planting of Timber was of the same Nature with raising of Corn or Cattle, or ingaging in Merchandise or Manufactures, the Reasoning would hold true. For certainly there is no need of any Inducement but Self-Interest, where Self-Interest can properly take place. But in the Case before us, the Misfortune is, that he who plants, unless he begins very young, cannot expect to reap much Benefit in his own Person: For Trees are of a

flower Growth than Corn; and a Plantation of Forest Timber will recompense the Grandson, instead of the Planter. This being the Case, it is very obvious, that *present* Self-Love is as much the ruling Passion in this Delay or Omission of planting Timber, as it is in any other. And therefore we may venture to foretel, That till a different Direction can be given to this ruling Passion, no Scheme or Proposal, no Law or Regulation will ever prove effectual. In short, we must take human Nature as we find it; and make the best Uses of it we can. And therefore, if we really expect a Growth of Timber equal to the Demands of a Maritime and Commercial People, we must come to the Point; That is, we must render it the *present* and *immediate* Self-Interest of every considerable Land-Owner in the Kingdom to make Plantations.

Now these Plantations ought never to be less, but as much more as the Owner shall please, than twenty Acres well fenced and inclosed: Because a less Plantation, if near the Sea, or on a bleak, high Ground, is in danger of being destroyed by high Winds, and the Extremity of Weather: Whereas in a large Plantation one Tree shelters another, and all are preserved. And this Observation holds *particularly* true on the Sea-Coasts; where if you plant one, or ten, or perhaps an hundred Trees, they will come to nothing; such is the blighting Nature of the Sea Air: But if you plant a thousand, the outermost Ranks may perhaps be shrivelled, but in proportion as you advance inwards, the Trees will appear healthy and flourishing: An ocular Demonstration of which may be had at the Hill above *Margum* House in *Glamorganshire*, and at Mount *Edgecombe* in *Cornwall*.—Though indeed the safest Way in all Cases, where either the Soil, or Situation is not kindly disposed for Timber (after having prepared the Ground, and laid out proper Spaces for Walks and Avenues) is, to sow Acorns, and all Sorts of Timber Seeds together, in order that Nature, in such a Variety, may take her Choice. And then, when these young Plants come up, they will be a mutual Screen and Defence to each other; and as they advance in Growth, may be transplanted, or thinned out at Pleasure.—So much as to the Reasons for allotting twenty Acres at least to every Plantation near the Sea, and upon bleak Exposures: And indeed in every Situation a Grove of twenty Acres is not too large: But will be found to be much more commodious, when proper Allowances are made for Walks and void Spaces, in order that Carriages may pass and repass, and that the Underwood may be cleaned out, and made into Charcoal;—I say, such a Plantation will be found much more commodious to the
Owner,

Owner, and advantageous to the Growth of Trees, than one of a less Size.

BUT the Polity itself for inforcing these Regulations, by taking strong hold on the Passion of Self-Love, and giving it the *useful Direction*, hath not yet been mentioned. Suppose therefore, That every Land-Owner for each Quantity of four hundred Acres that he possesses within one Parish, Tithing, or Hundred, should be obliged by Law to allot twenty Acres for making a Plantation of Timber under the following Penalties, *viz.*

1. THAT he should pay double Land-Tax for all his Estate situated in that Parish, Tithing, or Hundred, till he hath made as many Timber Plantations, as he had four hundred Acres.

2. THAT he should pay likewise double Window-Tax for all his Houses upon that Estate, without receiving any Allowance for those Cottages, or small Tenements, which have not *nine* Windows.

3. THAT he should pay double to the Poor-Tax, and to every other Parochial, Hundred, or County Tax, assessed on Lands or Houses, till he complies with the Terms here required.

4. THAT all reasonable Expences in making and preserving these Plantations should be allowed by Minors to their Guardians in passing their Accounts; moreover that every Husband holding an Estate during the Life of his Wife, should be permitted to charge the Estate with *two thirds* of the Expence hence occasioned, in case he survives her; but if a Person is Tenant only for his own Life, then he may be allowed to charge no more than *one third* of this Expence as a Debt on the Estate, payable to his Representative, or Heir at Law.

Now, when all these Clauses are operating jointly together, it is humbly conceived, that they must be effectual: For every Man would feel himself strongly disposed to concur with the public-spirited Designs of the Legislature, rather than bring so many Inconveniencies immediately upon himself by his Refusal: Present Self-Interest therefore would teach him this Lesson without Art or Logic. And thus might almost every Parish be adorned with Groves, and be enriched, as well as beautified; and the whole Kingdom, equally throughout, receive as full a supply of Timber, as could reasonably be expected. For it may be computed, that after Allowances are made for all Estates under four hundred Acres, and for such likewise as are above four hundred, but short of eight hundred, and so on,—I say, after these Allowances, it may fairly be computed, that for every thousand Acres of Land thro'out the Kingdom, twenty Acres will be stocked with Timber; which

Proportion amounts to just a fiftieth Part of the whole; and would certainly be sufficient for the Demand. And to ascertain the Nature of these Plantations, so as to prevent litigious Disputes, it might be enacted, That a certain Period, suppose *twelve Years*, shall be allowed, from the Date of the Act, for making these Plantations, and for the Growing of the Trees; and that, *at all Times*, after that Period, every good Inclosure of twenty Acres or upwards, wherein are growing at least four hundred Saplings or young Timber, shall be adjudged to be a sufficient Plantation, within the Intentions of this Act. Now this being the Case, every Man will have a plain Rule to walk by; and therefore, if he will not comply with it, he has none to blame but himself. And as this would be the Rule of judging, What was a legal or Parliamentary Plantation, and what was not, the same might serve, in case a Person was disposed to change one Plantation for another: For every new Plantation with four hundred Saplings would be a sufficient Security against the Penalties of the Law. And when once the Plantation is set out, it would be the Proprietor's own Interest to make it both as *profitable* and as *ornamental* as he could: For in such a Case, he would need no farther Incitement.

Now though this Polity appears under somewhat of a different Aspect from any of the former, by carrying the Air of *Force* and *Compulsion*, yet in Fact it can hurt none, but the most obstinate of Men. For the Expence of making such a Plantation would be inconsiderable in itself; and as it would fall on Persons of respectable Landed Property, it could scarcely be felt: Nay, though a Man might not live to be himself a Gainer, his Heirs or Representatives infallibly must; and if even *he* was obliged to sell the Estate, it would sell the better. The Rich therefore, who are the Persons immediately concerned, cannot be said to be hurt by such a Law; because it only would spur them on to do those Things, which they ought to have done without Compulsion. And if Benevolence to the Public, the Love of their own Families, and the Desire of doing Good to Posterity, had been so prevalent with the Bulk of Mankind, as *Self-Attachments* and *present Gratifications*, there would have been no more need to have made a Law of this Nature, than there is to oblige Men to eat, or sleep.—But, waving this, if the Rich would not be hurt, nay, in Fact, would be greatly benefited in the Course of Things, by such a Law; the Poor, the middling Sort, the Mechanic, the Manufacturer, the Merchant, and in short, all Orders and Degrees of Men whatever, would likewise reap the Advantage; Iron-Works might then be erected in almost every Parish

Parish or Hundred, if there were Occasion; Ships might be built in every Port, and Flotes of Timber might be brought down all our Rivers.

S E C T I O N VI.

A Polity for Registering the Title Deeds of Houses and Landed Estates.

THIS is a Subject, on which very little need be said: For the Case is so plain, That every Man who buys an Estate, or lends Money upon it, ought to have a good Title, that it would be the Height of Folly to pretend to illustrate the Matter, or make it plainer. All therefore that is to be done, is to point out the true Reason, why some Persons are so averse to a Register, and then to shew, how their Opposition may be disarmed, and yet the Thing effected.

As to the Cause of their Aversion, it is plainly this, Either their Estates are incumbered with Mortgages, Settlements, Jointures, Annuities, &c. &c. and then perhaps they may want to borrow more upon them by means of double Deeds;—or else their Titles are not so clear as they could wish, and therefore they are desirous of concealing this Flaw from the World. Now both these Circumstances are the strongest Reasons imaginable for the Necessity of a Register, and plainly shew the Use and Advantage of it. But the more cogent these Reasons are, the more violent will be the Opposition from all those who have cause to fear a Discovery. And therefore it seems morally impossible to get such a Law to be past, were it to oblige all Persons to come in, and register their Title Deeds directly.

BUT what cannot be done at once, may be done gradually; and though a strong Opposition would certainly be made in the one Case, perhaps there would be very little, or none at all in the other. Suppose therefore a Law was enacted, to make Marriage Settlements, Sales, Mortgages, &c. not be deemed valid *for the future*, unless they were registered among the County Records. Now such a Provision, respecting only Futurity, would not be much opposed by the present Generation; and yet in a short Space of Time it would operate as effectually, as if all Deeds were registred at once. For every Year and every Month would add some Estate or other to the Number of the registred ones; and when such Estates became the greater Number, the rest of the County, finding the Advantages of a Register, and the Disadvantages of borrowing Money, buying or selling an Estate without one, would voluntarily inroll their Title Deeds, and do that by Choice, which they would not do by Compulsion.

C H A P.

C H A P. II.

Certain Policies for the Increase and Improvement of Manufactures.

IT hath been observed before, Page 41, "That all Commercial Employment may be divided into two Kinds, *Husbandry* and *Mechanic Arts*; the immediate Object of the one being to provide *Food*, and that of the other to procure *Raiment* and *Dwelling*: And from the *Concurrence* and *Modifications* of these three, viz. *Food*, *Raiment*, and *Dwelling*, every other Trade, Calling, and Profession, derives its Origin and Support." For even the liberal Arts themselves, and all the literary Professions could never have existed, had it not been, that the Labour of the Husbandman, and the Skill and Industry of the Mechanic Artificer had first supplied the Scholar, the Philosopher, and Man of Contemplation, with the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Living. It hath been likewise farther observed, "That the *Landed* and the *Trading* Interests, or in other Words, that the Husbandman and the Artificer, are the *mutual Customers* to each other, the one being the respective Maker, and the other the Consumer." Hence therefore it should follow, That in proportion as any Nation improves in either of these, it improves likewise in the other; and if so, then we must conclude, that the Policies in the foregoing Chapter for the Increase and Improvement of Husbandry, become in the Event so many Policies for the Extension of Commerce and increasing the Number of Artificers and Tradesmen. And indeed these Consequences will necessarily follow, if all Obstacles are removed out of the way; but if Things are diverted from their natural Course by the Mistakes or sinister Arts of Mankind, the good Consequences will always be lessened in Proportion to the Number, and Nature of such Obstructions.

THIS being the Case, it is obvious to remark, That the Business and Aim of the ensuing Sections, must be to remove those Obstructions which impede the *industrious* and *useful* Operations of Self-Love, and to set Mankind and Nature FREE:—Free, I mean, in that Sense in which consists our true Liberty. For if Self-Love is *restrained* from doing Good to Society, it will do Mischief; and if prevented from doing Mischief, it will do Good. Hence therefore the Physician to the Body

Body Politic may learn to imitate the Conduct of the Physician to the Body Natural, in removing those Disorders which a bad Habit, or a wrong Treatment hath brought upon the Constitution; and then to leave the rest to Nature, who best can do her own Work. For after the Constitution is restored to the Use and Exercise of its proper Faculties and natural Powers, it would be as wrong to multiply Laws relating to Commerce, as it would be to be for ever prescribing Physic.

ONE Thing more I have to add, by way of Preface or Introduction, viz. That the Terms *Mechanic Trades* and *Manufactures*, here made use of, are to be understood in their largest and most extensive Signification: And therefore every Branch of Commercial Industry, even Shipping and Navigation, must be supposed to be comprehended under these Articles. But if any Person should object to this Method, and choose rather to say, That Shipping and Navigation ought to be considered as the *primary* Objects of our Attention, because we are a maritime People; To such an one I must beg leave to make this short Apology, viz. That in a systematical Treatise it would seem very preposterous to begin with that Article first, which is the last in the Order of Succession: And therefore as Shipping and Navigation are only Sea-Carriage, they must *pre-suppose*, in the very Nature of the Thing, that there are Goods first to be carried.

S E C T I O N I.

A Polity for opening such exclusive Companies, as relate principally to our Home-Trade, or Domestic Commerce.

WHEN a Set of Families, be they many or few in Number, are under the same Legislature, and constitute one People or political Society, the Commerce carried on between the Members of this State among themselves, is called *internal* or *domestic*: But when they traffic with the Subjects of different States or Legislatures, such Inter-course with other Nations, and exchange of Commodities, is termed *Foreign Commerce*. Hence therefore it is very apparent, that the Ideas of Foreign and Domestic Commerce do not arise from the *Distance* or *Nearness* of Situation of one Place to another, but from the *different Legislatures* which these Places may be respectively under. For when Goods are sent from *Dover* across the narrow Streight to *Calais*, such Goods are said to be *exported*, i. e. carried to a foreign Country; but if shipped off from *London* to *Newcastle*, they are only reputed as carried

ried Coast-wise, though more than fifty times as far. This Observation is yet strengthened by considering, that before the Union of *North* with *South Britain*, the Trade to *Scotland*, though at no greater Distance than crossing a River, was a Branch of Foreign Commerce, and so reputed by the Laws of both Kingdoms.—Nay, the Trade to *Ireland* is still considered in that disadvantageous Light, and consequently discouraged by hundreds of prohibitory Laws still in being, merely forsooth because these neighbouring Islands happen to be under Legislatures in some Respects different, though the general Government is the same, and the Interests both of Church and State, are the same likewise. However, since Things are in this Situation, our first Concern should be to set that Trade *free*, which circulates, or might circulate at Home, and then to extend our Attention to those Fabrics and Commodities which are, or might be exported Abroad.

Now any Trade may be said to be *FREE*, in which every Person may engage if he pleases: And consequently those Trades are really *confined*, where the Liberty of exercising them is denied to some, tho' granted to others; or where the Expence and Difficulties of obtaining this Liberty, are a great Burden and Discouragement. And therefore two Questions naturally arise on this Subject, *viz. First*, What Trades ought to be free and unrestrained? And *secondly*, What Means are the most desirable, and the least obnoxious to popular Prejudices towards obtaining this Freedom? As to the first, can it once be made a Doubt, whether such Trades ought to be free, as tend to create *mutual Employment* for Mankind, and to promote useful Industry and commendable Labour?—Surely it is impossible to conceive (*Self-Interest apart*) that any Trades deserve to be discouraged by a wise Government, but those only which administer Temptations to Vice and Idleness: For all others are an absolute Benefit to Society; and the more free and unconfin'd they are, the greater and more universal is this Benefit. If therefore those Trades ought to be free, whose Extension and Increase are a public Advantage, we are now to consider in the second Place, what Means would be the most eligible for obtaining this End.

ALL Liberty may be considered in two Views, Civil, or Religious: Religious Liberty, otherwise called Liberty of Conscience, is that whereby a Person is permitted to exercise his *own Judgment* in the Choice of his *own Religion*, and consequently to worship God in that manner which he believes to be most acceptable to the divine Being. This is certainly a Privilege which every Man hath a Right to enjoy, provided his religious Tenets cause no Disturbance to Civil Society, and are

are not repugnant to good Morals. And this Right we of *Great Britain* do now possess in as reasonable and ample a Manner, as can be desired. Nothing therefore is to be suggested in relation to this Article, as a Matter of Complaint, but of Commendation. For the Contemplation of it should inspire us with Praise and Gratitude, first to God, and then to his subordinate Agents.—And indeed, as the Ways and Systems of Providence are all uniform, and co-operating with each other, this Liberty of Conscience, so justifiable upon a religious Account, is not only compatible with, but greatly conduce to the Extension of Trade and Commerce. Whereas, on the contrary, it hath been the Observation of many Ages, that Bigotry and Industry, Manufactures and Persecution, cannot possibly subsist together, or cohabit in the same Country.—So far as to that Liberty, which is termed Religious.

AND as to *Civil Liberty*, we joyfully acknowledge with all Thankfulness, that in regard to the Crown and Government, never were a People more free than the *English* at this Juncture. But alas! though we are emancipated from the former Yoke of oppressive Power in one Sense, we are still Slaves to it in another: And, what is very astonishing, we now tamely submit to that *Usurpation* of our natural Rights from our Fellow-Subjects, which we would not bear from a crowned Head. The Nation, for instance, would rise as one Man, should the Crown attempt at this Day to exercise the *Prerogative* (as it did formerly) over the *natural Rights and Liberties* of the Subjects, by prescribing what particular Persons should exercise such and such Trades, and who should not,—by searching their Houses and taking away their Goods, under a Pretence that they were not made after a Workman-like Manner,—by stopping them from pursuing their honest Callings any longer,—by levying Fines and inflicting Penalties,—and doing other like Acts of despotic Violence and Oppression:—Such a Proceeding, I say, would raise a general Horror and Indignation: And yet, Reader, these very Powers derived originally from the Crown, and varnished over with the delusive Appearance of *CHARTERS* and *CORPORATIONS*, are exercised every Day, not only with Impunity, but with Applause. You will please to observe, that they are the same Powers still: For, in Fact, the whole Difference consists in the Persons, that are to execute them. Thus it is, that if the Crown should commission any Persons to see them put in Execution, *as from itself*, this would be esteemed, and justly too, a very high Infringement on Men's natural Rights and Liberties: For surely nothing can be plainer, than that every Man hath a Right *by Nature* to subsist himself, by his own Labour and Industry, in *any*

way that is compatible with the Good of the Whole; for this is the *only Limitation* that should take Place: And the Common Law of the Land not only agrees with, but greatly inforces this Doctrine. But lo! these very Powers, shocking and oppressive as they are, intirely change both their Names and Natures, when deputed to a Set of our Fellow-Subjects, and exercised by them, under the foolish and fallacious Pretence of *supporting* their PRIVILEGES. Such is the Force of Custom! Such the Delusion of Words and Sounds! The *persecuted* Person, who was enriching both his Country and himself by his Genius and Industry, is by a Jury found *Guilty*; the oppressive, incorporated Drones, and injurious Monopolists are stiled the *Injured* and the *Innocent*.—In short, the plain Rules of common Justice, common Honesty, common Sense, good Government, and national Commerce,—are one thing in *Westminster* and *Southwark*, and quite the Reverse within the Liberties of the City of *London*.

Now when Nonsense and Absurdity, when bad Polity and Injustice have gained an Establishment, and are covered over with the sacred Dust of Time, many Persons will always be found, whose supposed Interest, or real Inclination it is to defend them. And thus it hath happened in the Case before us: For a Multitude of Arguments have been coined to gloss over those Practices, which, if they had not been introduced in the Ages of Ignorance, Tyranny, and Barbarity, and settled by long Custom, would now have been detested by all the World.—However, as they have at present a kind of prescriptive Right, let us hear what can be offered in their Defence.

I. THEREFORE, It is pretended, that these Incorporated Societies were right at the Time of their original Institution, in order to keep up the Goods to a Standard, and to support the Credit of the Manufacture.

1st Answer, WHOEVER will be at the Pains to inquire into the Origin of these Grants, and to trace the Motives both of Granters, and Grantees, will find, That the Improvement of Commerce, and the Perfection of Mechanic Arts, were no Part of their Intention. For the Persons, to whom these Exclusions were granted, acted upon as base and disingenuous Motives, as ever disgraced human Nature: Their Designs were to exclude all Competitors, to monopolize the Trade into a few Hands, and to oblige the Buyer to take what they would please to sell him, however *dear*, or *bad*. And as to the Princes who granted these Privileges, they frequently sold them, as Goods in a Market, to the highest Bidder.

Bidder. For the Royal Prerogative was then so high and uncontrollable in Things of this Nature, that all Law and Parliament bowed before it: And therefore, if at any Time the Parliament did not readily grant Money in the ordinary Way, this Method always occurred to supply a present Pinch. Moreover, the Favourites and Courtiers of the Times had by means of these *Jobs*, a Power of enriching themselves, without draining any thing out of the Royal Coffers. — But if any one should yet doubt of the real Intentions of these Monopolists, in regard to Commerce and Manufactures, he need only read the Form of those horrid Oaths, which they obliged their Fellow-Subjects to take before they would admit them to be free of their Incorporated Societies. This is enough; — but if he hath a Mind to search farther into these Iniquities, he may consult *Rymer's Fœdera*, Sir *Simon Dewes's* Journal of the House of Commons during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, *Townsend's* Historical Collection of her four last Parliaments, the Preambles of several of the Statutes at Large, and other Tracts of the like Nature.

2d Answer, THE very Notion of keeping Manufactures up to a Standard is absurd and ridiculous; for different Nations, Countries, and Climates, different Ages, Sexes, and Stations, different Times and Seasons of the Year, different Customs and Caprices, and consequently *different Prices* require different Sorts of Goods. And every Manufacturer must, and will endeavour to suit his Fabrics to the Taste, or Pocket of his Customers, let the Standard be what it will. In short, who can pretend to fix that Standard, which must alter with every Fashion, and vary as often as the Whims and Humours, the Abilities and Inclinations of Mankind differ from themselves, and from each other. — Therefore if the Goods have no hidden Flaw and Imperfection, and if they are intrinsically as valuable as they appear to be, they have all the Qualities which the Nature of the Thing will admit of. But suppose they should have some concealed Fault or Blemish, then, I ask, are the Wardens and Masters of Companies the proper Persons for detecting these Frauds? Will these Men, who have their own Wares to sell, will they impeach themselves for making bad ones? — or indeed will they impeach a Brother of the *Craft*, who may soon be in Office, and will surely retaliate the Favour to them? — No; the Thing is incredible and absurd: And Fact it is, that there have been more bad Goods manufactured and vended, *especially for foreign Markets*, by such as have born Offices in exclusive Companies, than by any other Set of Men whatever.

3d Answer, ALLOWING, for Argument sake, that it is necessary to establish, or continue these Incorporated Societies for the Purposes above mentioned, then it follows, *à fortiori*, as the Schoolmen speak, that the like Incorporations should be established and continued for the due manufacturing of all other Commodities, which can be brought to a Standard, and are least liable to the Changes and Alterations of Times and Fashions. Butter and Cheese, for Instance, are valuable Commodities, and require much greater Skill and Ingenuity in the making them, than is necessary for practising several Mechanic Trades, which yet are dignified with exclusive Charters: Likewise the Taste or Judgment for good Butter and Cheese is more general, fixed, and certain, than the Judgment for most other Manufactures. Suppose therefore, that a Company were erected for the proper making of Butter and Cheese; and that the Rulers of this *worshipful Company* had a Power of searching for, and confiscating all bad Butter and Cheese within twenty Miles of London; —How would the Masters and Wardens of our present exclusive Companies like this? For this is their own Argument in the strongest Sense: And yet there is not a Man that breathes, that would expect to find these two Articles of Living either cheaper, or better by such an Institution.

4th Answer, BUT even granting (what is utterly false) that Mechanic Arts and Manufactures are to be improved by exclusive Charters; —still what is that to other Trades, which do not make, but only sell and retail these Manufactures? For though a Manufacturer must be incorporated, it doth not follow, that his *Broker* must: And, in Fact, all Shopkeepers and Retailers are nothing more than *Brokers* between the Manufacturer and the Buyer. Surely, by Parity of Reason, the Carrier, and the Carrier's Horse, may as well put in their Claim for Charters and Exclusions; and upon the same wise Principle, a Law ought to be enacted, That for the due and proper Exercise of the Art or Mystery of carrying Goods, and drawing a Load in a *Carrier-like* Manner, all the Horses employed therein, shall be Duns, Blacks, or Bays!

II. THE *second* Pretence is, That exclusive Companies were necessary at first, in order to give proper Incouragement to ingenious Artists to settle among us,

1st Answer, This Plea is more ridiculous, if possible, and more extravagant than any of the former. For the very Intention of an exclusive Company is to shut out Rivals, and to prevent, as far as may be, the very Possibility of Competitions. Where then can be the Motive to excel, when Emulation is stifled, and the idlest Blockhead, if free of a Corporation, is preferred to the most ingenious and industrious Artist that is not free?—In short, where Privileges and Charters are to determine the Merit of a Man's Performance, his chief Regards will be paid to *them*; and even if he should happen to be endowed with brighter Parts, and a superior Genius, his Ambition will not be called upon to exert them in such a Situation.

2^d Answer, As to the Incouraging of new Trades, it ought to be considered, that every Trade at its first Commencement, is properly in its infant State; which therefore during that Period must be *nursed*; and all nursing is attended with Expence. Now, if a new Trade is to be introduced at home, or a new Branch of Commerce is to be carried on abroad, there are two Ways of nursing it, till it is able to shift for itself; *viz.* First by granting a Charter to the first Artists at home, or to the first Adventurers abroad, and to their Successors after them, with an Exclusion to all others; and secondly, To issue forth a general Invitation to all, and to advance such Premiums or Bounties, as shall induce many Individuals, from Prospects of Self-Interest, to engage in it. This being the Case, let us now consider which Method of Nursing is the cheapest, and best? Which, for Example, will make the Child thrive fastest, or bring the Trade the speediest to Perfection, so that it may no longer require the Support of Leading-strings? Now in regard to the first Method,—Indeed, I own, that the exclusive Grant will always appear the cheapest to those who do *not attend to the Nature of it*; but is in Fact the dearest. For those Taxes, which are raised by Monopolists and exclusive Companies, both in the Sale of their Goods, and in purchasing from others, are the most grievous and detrimental of any that ever existed; inasmuch as they nip Industry in the very Bud, and prevent that Circulation of *mutual* Labour and Employment, in which consist the Riches and Prosperity of a Kingdom. And as to the nursing Part, to carry on the former Allusion, it is neither their Interest, nor their Inclination, that the Child committed to their Care should subsist without its Nurse: For when the Exclusion is discontinued, and the Trade thrown open, their monopolizing Gains are

are gone. Therefore it is their Business to stint the Growth of this Trade, within such Bounds as shall make the exclusive Charter *appear* still necessary for carrying it on. On the contrary, when a new Trade is supported by Premiums and Bounties, the very additional Expence in one respect is more than *repaid* by the additional Increase of Labour and Industry, and consequently of Riches in another. Moreover, as the Invitation is general, the Emulation will be so likewise; which is itself the best Guard against Combinations. Therefore as the Improvements come on, and the Trade extends, the Bounty or Premium may be proportionably diminished; so that in a few Years this kind of nursing may totally cease. Nay, in a Course of Time, perhaps this Trade itself may bear a Tax in order to support, and rear up other infant Trades, if such a Proceeding is judged requisite.—But indeed no Manufactures or Branches of Commerce ought to be burdened with Taxes, according to the Rules of sound Polity, but those only which administer to Idleness, Pleasures, and Diversions. However, from the above State of the Case, we see plainly, that exclusive Companies, whether for a Foreign or Domestic Trade, are the worst Nurses in the World, as well as the most expensive. And if from Theory we descend to Facts, the Proofs will appear in a very striking Light. For in regard to Foreign Commerce, tho' there was a *Greenland* Company subsisting for a great many Years, scarce any thing was done, and the little Quantity of Oil and Whalebone taken by them, was sold at most exorbitant Prices. But when this Trade was thrown open, and a Bounty given, the Increase and Improvement, within a very short Space, were astonishingly great and rapid; no less than eighty Sail of large, stout Ships (such Ships as would have been judged fit to form a Line of Battle in the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*) having been fitted out in one Year, and that but a few Years distance from the Commencement of the Trade. And in respect to home Concerns, The City of *Worcester* hath by its Situation on the *Severn*, and by every other natural Cause, greatly the Advantage over *Birmingham*: But *Worcester* hath no Trade, and *Birmingham* a great deal; And why so?—*Worcester* hath exclusive Charters, and *Birmingham* none at all.

III. THE *third* Pretence is, That if it were not for exclusive Companies, there would be too many of a Trade:—The Trade would be over-done.

I. *Answer*, IF ever the Tricks of *Legerdemain* imposed upon the Eyes of Mankind, these Delusions of exclusive Companies impose as much upon their Understandings. For, in Fact, when all the several Trades are under their respective Exclusions or Monopolies, (which is the very Case in regard to our *home* Trades) what Advantage hath one Set of Tradesmen over another? And if all Trades are *mutually impeded* by these Restraints, what is the Consequence, but mutual Poverty? Suppose, for Instance, any given Number of exclusive Companies living together within the Liberties of the City of *London*, viz. A Company of Bakers—Brewers—Taylors—Shoemakers—Carpenters—Masons—Smiths—Grocers—Mercers, &c. &c. and that each of these should resolve to support their *Privileges*, as they are pleased to call them, and to expel those Tradesmen who are not free:—The Bakers therefore begin with expelling the Non-freemen, or interloping Bakers; and the Brewers expel the interloping Brewers, and so on:—Now I ask, in the Name of Common Sense, after this Exploit, what have the Bakers, or Brewers, or Taylors, or any others gained by these Expulsions?—For the Matter, you see, is not one Jot mended; and the Complaint, *That the Trade is overstocked*, remains as strong as ever; there being as many of the Trade remaining, *in Proportion to the Number of their Customers*, as there were before. Either therefore let all continue, —or seek for some other Reason, and give up the foolish Pretence of lessening the Number of your *Rivals* by such Methods, whereby the Companies of other Trades are lessening the Number of your *Customers*.

II. *Answer*, GRANTING, that a Trade may be accidentally overstocked with Numbers;—when that is the Case, the best and safest Way is to let the Evil alone, and then it will infallibly cure itself. For in process of Time, some of these Persons will go off to other Trades; and, as the Trade is out of repute, there will not so many young Recruits be bred up to it. Thus the Occupation that was once overstocked, will soon be reduced to a Medium, and may in its turn want Hands again; the Consequence of which may probably be, that it will be again overstocked: For such is the Rotation of human Affairs, Dearth begets Cheapness, and Cheapness Dearth. But if you should take any other Course than what is here mentioned, which is in Fact the *Course of Nature, and of Providence*, like Summer and Winter in the natural World, your Attempts will not only be frustrate, but by endeavouring to remove one *seeming* Evil, and *temporary* Inconvenience, you.

you will certainly introduce a thousand real ones, which will grow more dangerous, and inveterate by Length of Time.

IV. THE last Pretence is, That these Liberties and Privileges are *bought* by the great Sums given with Apprentices, and by the Money expended in taking up the Freedoms of Cities, Companies, &c. — Therefore if they are to be given up, some Recompence should be made to the present Proprietors.

1st Answer, If any Money was really given for these Privileges, more is the Pity: For positively they are WORTH NOTHING: Nay, they are so vile a Drug, that if you were to carry them to *Manchester*, *Birmingham*, or any other free Town, they would not accept of your intended Present. But indeed, how is it possible, that these Privileges can be of any Valuation, inasmuch as it hath been made evidently to appear, that they do not increase the Trade of any one particular Person, and greatly prevent the general Trade of the Nation?

2d Answer, THE Position is not just, That the great Sums of Money given with Apprentices, are in Consideration of obtaining these imaginary Privileges. For, as great, nay much greater Sums are given in open Towns, where they neither have, nor desire such Privileges. And I will venture to assert, that many Tradesmen in *Westminster* and *Southwark*, have much larger Sums with their Apprentices than those of like Occupation in the City of *London*: And as to Merchants, it is now grown into a kind of Custom, even within the Liberties of the City, for Merchants to refuse taking up their Freedom, lest they should be burdened with the usual Inconveniencies attending it: And yet these Merchants have very large Sums with their Apprentices, or Clerks: — So little Regard is paid to these trifling Gewgaws by the best Judges, and most experienced Practitioners in the Commercial World.

UPON the whole, After having examined and refuted every Pretence, we must now recur to the Observation we set out with, *viz.* That an *Englishman*, notwithstanding his boasted Liberty, is, in regard to Commerce, still NOT FREE: — For he is still in Bondage, not to the Crown indeed, as formerly, but to his Fellow-Subjects; and we still want the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION in the Commercial System, which we have happily obtained in the Political. Then indeed, and not till then, may we be said to have abolished all the *Remains* of antient, despotic Power, and Gothic Barbarity. For as long as these Charters and Exclusions

Exclusions continue, so long we bear about us the Marks of our former Slavery.

HOWEVER, seeing these Chains are now looked upon by a considerable Part of the Nation as a Matter of Ornament, instead of a Badge of antient Slavery, we must pay that Deference to the Foibles and Prejudices of Mankind, as may best promote the great End we aim at, *National Prosperity*. And therefore, far from endeavouring to take these pretended Privileges away at once, let us rather undermine them by degrees, and by that Means render the People themselves weary of their Chains.

THEREFORE, the Set of Politics here proposed, are those which have been mentioned already under another Article, Page 18 and 19, viz. *Politics for encouraging the Married State*. And indeed, if all married People were allowed, as there set forth, the intire Liberty of working at what *mechanic* Arts they pleased, and of keeping Shops within Glafs Windows, these two Articles would go a considerable Way towards redressing the Evil complained of. And as an Act for this Purpose might, and ought to bear the most popular Title, viz. *An Act for the more effectual Incouragement of Marriage among industrious People*, an Opposition to it would not be able to sound a general Alarm throughout the Nation. Nay, the far greater Part being pleased with the Title, would not trouble their Heads about the Contents: For Names and Sounds are the chief Things, in Cases of this Nature, either of doing Good, or doing Mischief. Besides, the very Contents of the Act not being levelled against any *particular* Set of Men, and consequently not raising any particular Enemies, there would be no *Deme-merits* to stir up the People, That their *Craft* was in Danger. Moreover as the Effects of such a Law could not appear instantaneously, but would creep on by slow Degrees, there would be no Danger to be apprehended at its first Commencement; Because there would be no immediate Object of *public Hatred*, like as in the Case of the *Jew Bill*, for the popular Fury to vent itself upon. So that in every View, the Electioneering Patriot must invent some other Cry, and here be silent: And if the Law was past the second, third, or fourth Session of Parliament (which would be the only *proper Seasons* for passing it) perhaps he himself would, for once, do Good undesignedly, and be among the first to promote it: — Indeed he could have no particular Interest to serve by opposing it. But be that as it may, certain it is, that after a Course of Years these pretended Privileges would grow into great Disesteem, and become at last as much the Subject of Derision and Contempt

tempt as the Coronation Challenges of *Dimmock* the Champion (another Remnant of Gothic Barbarity) are at present.

AND now, notwithstanding so much hath been said on this Subject, something seems necessary yet to be added by way of guarding against, as far as that is possible, the disingenuous Arts of Cavil and Chicanery. For it is easy to foresee, that many Difficulties will be started, and Objections raised by narrow-minded Persons at the Beginning of this, as of every other Reformation. And though they cannot defend the absurd and iniquitous Practices intended to be reformed, yet they think themselves very happy (from what Motive it is many times hard to say) if they can succeed in perplexing the Argument, or misrepresenting the Intention of the Reformers.

I. THEREFORE it will be pretended, That if such a Course is taken in dissolving, or undermining Charters, all Order and Regularity will be overturned, and the usual Channels of Justice, and Civil Government will be stopped up.

Now it may be greatly questioned, whether the Persons themselves, who would urge this Plea, can possibly believe the Reality of it. And yet, as the Words made use of, are plausible and sonorous, it will be necessary to obviate the ill Impressions that such Words may occasion: Be it therefore remembered, That Charters for the *Administration of Justice*, are one Thing, and Charters for the *Limitation of Commerce* are another; and therefore, if any Man will confound these two together, he must be very weak, or, what is much worse, very wicked. Now the Force of the Arguments here advanced, as well as the Intent of the Politics proposed, tend only to the opening of exclusive Charters relating to Commerce, but have no Reference whatever to Charters for the Administration of Justice. These latter therefore are to remain in full Possession of all their Powers of administering Justice to the Subject; and as to the former, it is not even proposed to repeal these Charters, but only to take away their noxious and malignant Qualities. For the Charters may still remain as far as relates to all Points of Honour, Pleasure or Profit: The Rents of the vast Estates belonging to these Companies are still to be at their Disposal; and their Furs and Scarlet Gowns, their Colours and Streamers, their Offices and Dignities, and, what is the most essential of all, their frequent Feastings and Carousings, are still to be held sacred and inviolable: And nothing more is to be taken from them, but the Power of stopping Industry, and doing Mischief. Judge therefore with what Appearance of Truth it can be said (and yet I am persuaded

persuaded, it will be said) that this Scheme tends to dissolve all Charters whatsoever, and to annihilate the best Part of the Rights, Liberties, and Privileges of a *free-born Englishman*.

II. IT will be said, That according to the Principles on which this Scheme is built, every *other* Trade, Calling, or Profession, ought to be as free and independent, without Restraint or Examination.

Now, in order to give this Objection its full Answer, four Observations ought to be made ;

(1.) THERE are a Set of Trades and Callings, whose very Business it is to draw others into Idleness and Expence ;—Thus, for Example, the greater the Number of Alehouse-Keepers, and the more industrious they are, so much the less Industry there will be among other People. For they cannot succeed in their Employments, without impeding the Success of others. This being the Case, it therefore follows, that the very same Principle, which would take off Restraints from other Trades, would lay Restraints upon these, and prevent their Increase.—But of what Nature these Restraints are, will particularly appear in PARTS III. and IV. when we come to treat of Politics for promoting good Morals, and to set forth the Theory of judicious Taxes.

(2.) THERE are certain Occupations (*Mechanic*, or *Manufacturing* Trades I think there are none) whose Professors ought to be subject to a *Licence*, or *Examination* before they Practice, because the Injury done by unskilful Practitioners may be irreparable and fatal. And this Observation holds particularly strong in the Case of Physic and Surgery : For a bold plausible Pretender may do that Mischief at once, which is never afterwards to be remedied. And then it is of no avail to turn off the Quack, and have no farther Dealings with him, after he has killed, or ruined his Patient. In short, the Cases of Physic, and Manufactures are not at all parallel ; and therefore no Argument relating to the one, ought to conclude for the other.

(3.) IN relation to the Professions of Law and Divinity, the very Nature of these Sciences render it necessary, that the Professors of them should undergo some Examination, or give some Proof of their Abilities and Proficiency, before they commence Teachers and Practitioners. For in regard to Divinity, it is absurd to suppose, that the Persons to be taught, are the proper Judges of the Abilities and Learning of the Teachers. Nay indeed, Tares of bad Principles may be made to resemble Wheat so much in the outward Look and Appearance, that the best disposed *unlettered* Person may be deceived, if he is not likewise

endowed with a most uncommonly solid and sagacious Judgment. Moreover in regard to Law, the *implicit Faith* which the Mass of Mankind must repose in the Practitioners of it, makes it necessary, that as many Securities should be taken by the Public, both of their Integrity, and Abilities in their Profession, as the Nature of the Case will bear. For their Clients can be no Judges of their Abilities; and after they have lost their Fortunes by trusting them in dishonest, or unskilful Hands, it will then be too late to turn off their Counsellors, or Attorneys, and chuse others.

BUT, (4.) there is one general Reason for restraining the Numbers of the Professors of Law, Physic, and Divinity, which concludes quite the contrary, if applied to Husbandry, or Manufactures: And that is, that as these Scholars and *literary* Gentlemen live by the Labour of others, the Increase of their Numbers would be so far from adding to the Public Stock of Wealth, that it would greatly diminish it in every View:—A dead Weight themselves, and depriving the Public of so much Labour. A few indeed are necessary in every State, but many are a Nuisance both to themselves, and to the Public: And in short, an Increase of their Numbers should never be attempted till all other Orders and Professions have *led the Way, and greatly increased theirs*: For the Number of Parishioners, Clients, and Patients, should first be multiplied, before that of Clergymen, Lawyers, or Physicians.

WE have now, I think, viewed the Subject in all Lights, and in every Position:—And the Result of the whole is this, That no Discouragement ought to be put upon Industry and Labour; that every Trade, productive of National Commerce, Wealth, and Prosperity, ought to be free and unrestrained; that Monopolies and Exclusions, *in the Case before us*, are both a *foolish*, and a *knaveish* Scheme; because they are a Detriment to all, without being a private Advantage to any: And to sum up every thing, it hence appears, That Excellency of Work, Cheapness of Labour, right Application of Genius, good Morals in private Life, Plenty and Prosperity in regard to the Public, are the sure Consequences of universal Freedom, and universal Emulation: For such is the Order of Things, and the Course of Providence. Put therefore your Commercial Affairs into that Method, which is planned out by Providence itself; and then all will go well. As to our present *numerous*, and *contradictory* Laws concerning the Quality and Price of Goods, Hours of Working, Hire of Journeymen and Labourers, high Wages, oppressive Combinations, &c. &c. they are only the poor Efforts of *After-Thought* to prevent the ill Effects of *original* Blunders. And as they frequently do

do more harm than good, if attempted to be executed, our old Legislators may be very justly compared to an unskilful Physician, first stopping up one Sore, and then another, instead of correcting the ORIGINAL MALADY, from whence all proceeded.

S E C T I O N II.

A Polity for opening those exclusive Companies, which relate to Foreign Trade.



FOREIGN Trade, as was observed before, is only another Name for carrying on a Commercial Intercourse between such Countries as are not under the same Government, or Legislature with ourselves. For the Trade between *South*, and *North Britain*, when these Kingdoms were under different Governments, was esteemed *foreign*; nay, it was so reputed, when only the Legislatures were different, though the Crowns were united: But when there was an Union both of Crowns, and Legislatures, then the Idea of Foreign Commerce immediately vanished. Moreover, if all *Europe* were united under one great Monarch, and one Legislature, the Trade carried on between the different Parts of this extended Monarchy, would not be considered under the Idea of Foreign Commerce. And this Reasoning is fully confirmed by Facts; for in regard to *Turky* (that immense Collection of numberless States, Kingdoms, and Republics, as they formerly subsisted, but now swallowed up in one great Gulph of uniform despotic Power) I say, in regard to this vast Empire, no one looks upon that Trade as foreign which is carried on between *Smyrna* and *Constantinople*, tho' the Distance of the one from the other is very great, and they formerly belonged to different Kingdoms, and are now situated in different Quarters of the World. In short, *Constantinople* is the Metropolis, and *Smyrna* is one of the Out-Ports; and the Trade between them answers to the same Idea in this vast Empire, as the Trade between *London* and *Bristol* doth in *Great Britain*.—But this Observation will have its farther Use in settling right Notions of National Industry and Riches, and in confuting popular Errors concerning the Ballance of Trade, and the Nature of Money, as we proceed in this Work.

THE Ideas of Foreign, and Domestic Commerce being thus adjusted, we must now observe, That all kinds of Exclusions sprung from the same Origin, viz. Despotic Power in the Prince, and dishonest Selfishness in the Subject: For these were the Parents of this monstrous Brood:
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The despotic Power of the Prince, I know not for what Reason, was called Prerogative; and this Prerogative was purchased by the monopolizing Subject either of the Prince himself, or of some favourite Courtier, in order to prey upon, and oppress his Fellow-Subjects with Impunity.—Now, though we have at present but few exclusive Companies relating to Foreign Trade, yet we had formerly almost as many Companies for Trading abroad, as Trading at home.—And then indeed, the Exclusions being mutual, all were hurt, and none benefited; so that the Knavery of these Men was amply rewarded with their Folly; but at present, as other Exclusions are taken off, and the Trade thrown open, the Monopolies that still remain, are certainly Gainers; and consequently the Imputation of Folly doth not fall to their Share. But in order to avoid Repetitions as much as possible, let us now omit those Pretences which have been already confuted in the former Section, and pass on to such Apologies, as seem more particularly calculated for the Defence of exclusive Companies in a Foreign Trade.

I. “THEREFORE it is pretended, That exclusive Companies are necessary in order to maintain Forts, Governors, and Soldiers along the Coast;—otherwise these Establishments must be supported at the public Expence.”

1st Answer, IT is not so clear a Point, that any Forts are necessary, if *National Commerce* is the only thing aimed at. For let me ask, To what *Commercial Uses* are these Forts to be applied? If they are in order to plant a Colony;—then the having a few Forts, without making farther Settlements, is only being at a continual Expence to answer no End. If they are to awe and bridle the Natives, It would be difficult to shew, what Advantage can accrue to Trade by insulting and obliging the People you trade with: And sure I am, that that Shop-keeper would be deemed a strange kind of Creature, who would go and bully all his Customers, in order to bring Custom to his Shop.—But perhaps it may be said, That Forts are necessary, in order to prevent other European Nations from trading with these Countries: If so, then I ask, Do these Forts prevent any Nations whatever from trading, if they have a mind to trade? Do the *English* Forts, for Example, prevent the *French*, or the *French* the *English* from trading to *India*? Not at all. Nay, those European Nations which have not one Fort, find the Way to trade as well as others; witness the *Ostend* Company formerly; and the *Embsen* and *Gottenburg* Companies at present. More-

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over the *English* themselves have no Forts in *China*;—tho' the Country itself is at a much greater Distance, and our Trade thither of more Extent and Importance; and though the same Pretence might serve against the *Mandrians* of *Ghina*, as against the *Nabobs* of *India*. Suppose therefore, that the *Flemish*, the *Spaniards*, the *Genoese*, the *Tuscans*, *Neapolitans*, *Venetians*, or any of our European Neighbours, were to lay aside their present unhappy Systems, and to act upon true Commercial Principles, what is there to hinder them from opening a Trade to *India*? And can any one pretend to say, that they could not possibly succeed, when he knows that the *Dutch* did succeed, without Forts themselves, and against all the Forts of the united Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*, the greatest Powers then in *Europe*, and the only European Powers in *India*? This is a notorious Fact, which cannot be controverted; nay, the *Dutch East India Company* was not then incorporated: And had they always acted according to their original Plan of being Traders, instead of Conquerors, they would have employed a much greater Number of Shipping than they now do, they would have exported and imported larger Quantities of the Merchandises of the respective Countries, and they would have spread that Wealth among all the Individuals of the State, which, by being ingrossed and monopolized in a few Hands, hath done more real Mischief to the Vitals of their Constitution, than all their other Enemies put together. But indeed, the very Notion of having Forts for the Purposes of Commerce (where no Colonies are intended) is extravagant and foolish: For either these Forts must be so numerous and strong, as to oblige the Natives to submit to the Will and Pleasure of their Commanders; or else it is absurd to suppose, that on a Coast of perhaps a thousand Miles extent, half a Dozen little Forts, scattered up and down, can prevent the Natives from trading with those Customers, which will use them best. In short, the only Use of Forts is *Perquisites*, *Jobs*, and *Salaries*; viz. *Perquisites* to the Clerks, Factors, and Supercargoes; *Jobs* to the Directors; and *Salaries*, with all their Appendages, to the Governors, Sub-Governors, and so forth. Indeed Sir *Josiah Child* (with whom the Writer of these Sheets had the Honour to agree in every other Commercial Point, before ever he read his Book) seems to intimate, that Forts are absolutely necessary in the *East Indies*.—But if the Reader will please to recollect, that Sir *Josiah Child* was the Chairman and Director of the Company at home, and that his Brother, Sir *John Child*, was their Governor abroad;—And if he will also consult *Harris's Collection of Voyages and Travels*, Edit. 1744. Vol. I. Page 899 to 905, he will be at no Loss in guessing at the true Reason

Reason for this Partiality in Sir *Josiah Child* towards Forts and Military Establishments in the *East Indies*.

2d Answer, GRANTING even that Forts are necessary,—How doth this prove that exclusive Companies are necessary? and what immediate Reference have the one to the other? If it is said, That exclusive Companies defray the Expences of maintaining these Forts,—This certainly is a palpable Falshood; for the Companies no otherwise defray the Expences, than as our *Tax-Gatherers* here at home may be said to defray the Expences of the Kingdom. Other Persons pay, and they collect:—So it is in relation to exclusive Companies; they TAX the European Goods which they sell in *Asia*, and the *Asiatic* Goods which they sell in *Europe*, with an *higher Price* than the private Trader would do; and then apply a Part, and a very small Part, of this Tax to the Purposes of their Military Establishments, and put the rest in their Pockets. But of all Taxes, this is the worst and most pernicious in its Consequences; for a Tax upon the *Exportation of our own Manufactures*, is a Tax upon our own Industry and Labour; and a Tax upon the *Importation of raw Materials*, is no other than a Method of tying Mens Hands behind them, lest they should do themselves and their Country Service.—The only Tax of this Nature which is justifiable, is that which our *East India* Company lays upon Tea, and such other Articles and foreign Manufactures, as do not promote general Industry at home, so far the Tax is right: But then it ought to be considered, That in Proportion as these Articles are taxed by the Company, in the same Proportion is the public Revenue defrauded of its just Due. For certain it is, That were the Trade to *India* and *China* as free and unrestrained, as the Trade is to *Spain* and *Portugal*, the Consequence would be, that Tea and all other Articles would be sold to the Consumer much cheaper than they now are, even though the present Customs were doubled upon them. And thus would the Revenue itself be prodigiously increased; nay, the Temptations of smuggling Teas, and other *Asiatic* Commodities from *Denmark*, the *Ile of Man*, *France*, and *Holland*, would be proportionably decreased; and this likewise would prove another Source of great Gainings and Savings to the Nation. Now, after it hath been thus demonstrably proved, that the Nation, and not the Company, support these Forts even in Times of Peace, one might reasonably expect, that the Advocates for such Exclusions would have the Modesty to give up this Plea, and be silent for the future; but alas! the less they have of Reason and Argument on their side, the more

more liberal they are in confident Assertions, and specious Chicane, in order to dazzle and perplex an honest Mind. However, supposing even that exclusive Companies maintain their own Quarrels in Times of Peace, (*i. e.* in such Times, when there are no Quarrels, and consequently when no Forts are necessary, but by way of *Prevention*) the Question still returns, *viz.* Who maintains them in Time of War? And to whom is Recourse had in real Danger? — For surely a Monopolist himself would hardly say, That the Nation have been put to no Expence on this Account:—Unless he thinks, that we have so soon forgot, that, during the last War, numerous and expensive Squadrons, were continually sent to defend the Company's Forts and Settlements in the *East Indies*. Therefore, to put an End to this Article, let it be considered, that the present Argument stands thus;—In Times of Peace, our exclusive Companies impose the very worst, and most detrimental Taxes on *their Fellow-Subjects*, that any Nation can suffer; and in Times of War they are so far from assisting us, that they do not defend themselves, and expect that we should do it for them:—So just therefore, as well as severe, was that Sarcastm of the *Indian Nabob*, *viz.* "That if he had intrusted a Town of his to be defended by his dancing Girls, he would have expected them to have given a better Account of it, than the *English* gave of Fort St George."

3d Answer, GRANTING still, that these Forts are necessary:—An unlucky Question here occurs, *viz.* To whom are they necessary? If it is said, That they are necessary to the exclusive Company, then let this Company enjoy the sole Benefit of them. But if it is farther pretended, That private Adventurers cannot carry on their Trade without the Protection of such Forts and Castles, then the Dispute is ended, and the Difficulty solved at once, *viz.* Let the private Adventurers trade wherever they can, but *not dare* to come into that Town, Port, or Place, where the Company have any *Military* Establishment: Nay, let the Excluders be considered, what they really are, the perpetual and avowed Enemies of the rest of their Countrymen; and therefore let them act like the most cruel Enemies in *open War*, whenever they can catch the private Traders *within their Territories*:—Then it follows, That, *according to this Hypothesis*, the private Traders must necessarily give over their Pursuits; inasmuch as they *cannot* trade without Forts, and *dare not* make use of those of the Company. Therefore what need is there of any further Exclusion, since this Circumstance itself will effectually exclude them? And why so much Pains taken to deny

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the poor Adventurer the Liberty of a *free Trade*, when, after all, he could not use this Liberty, were it granted to him? Now if the Advocates for the *East India*, and the *Hudson's Bay Companies* do really think, that the above Argument is a good one, let them rest their Cause upon it; and we will be contented: But if they only bring it by way of Flourish and Illusion, they must be told, That those Persons who are excluded from a free Trade, by virtue of the partial, malevolent Charters of Men, are not excluded by the impartial divine Benevolence from the common Benefit of Sense and Reason.

II. THE second Pretence is, "That exclusive Companies are necessary, in order to keep up the Price of our own Goods in foreign Markets, and the Price of foreign Goods at home; or, in other Words, to *sell dear*, and *buy cheap*."

1st Answer, WE freely allow all the Premises, for most undoubtedly all exclusive Companies were set up with this View, and *this View only*; But what Conclusions can be drawn from hence regarding national Commerce? Is it in the first Place, for the Interest of this Nation, that we should sell *our Manufactures* dear to Foreigners? And doth it follow in the second Place, that the Monopolists, who buy *raw Materials* cheap abroad, will sell them cheap at home?—*Sic Notus Ulysses?*

2d Answer, IF this Principle of selling dear, and buying cheap, by means of Monopolies, is a good Principle for national Commerce, then it follows, that all foreign Trade whatever ought to be put under Monopolies and Exclusions, as soon as possible. For where there are *no Rivals* either in buying or selling, the Monopolist will certainly have it more in his Power to fix his own Price: The Question therefore is, What will the Nation gain by this Monopoly? Will greater Quantities of our own Manufactures, that is, our own Labour be exported? Will greater Quantities of Raw Materials, that is, Provisions for future Labour be imported?—If neither of these will be the Case, what are the Gains of the Monopolist, but the *Nation's Loss*? And if we were to suppose, That the Trade to *Holland, Flanders, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany, the Baltic, &c. &c.* were to be put under a Set of exclusive Companies, would the Ports of *London, Bristol, Liverpool, &c.* be as crowded with Shipping as they are at present? Would the interior Parts of the Kingdom, and the great manufacturing Places of *Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Halifax, Sheffield, Norwich, Bradford, Stroud, &c. &c.* I say, would these, and

and many such Places, be as rich, populous, and flourishing, as they now are?—A plain and honest Answer to these Questions, ends all the Controversy at once.

III. A third Pretence is, “ That exclusive Companies are necessary, because they are a Means of preventing the Exportation of Coin and Bullion. For, say their Advocates, if exclusive Companies buy Goods in a foreign Market at a less Price, and in less Quantities, than free Traders would do; the Consequence is, that the Ballance of Trade is the more likely to turn in their Favour:—And therefore if the Ballance of the *East India* Trade is vastly in our Disfavour, even when under the Management of a Company; what would it be, were this Trade let loose to all Adventurers, who, by vying with, and rivalling one another, would certainly enhance the Price abroad, and bring the greatest Quantities home?”

1st Answer, If this Bullion, or Coin, is carried out to purchase *Raw Materials* for the Employment of our People, the Trade is good and beneficial to the State, because it creates Industry, and promotes Labour. For Industry and Labour are the only real Riches; Money being merely the Ticket or Sign belonging to them; and the Use of Money is TO CERTIFY, that the Person possessing that Piece of Coin, hath likewise been in Possession of a *certain Quantity of Labour*, which he hath transferred into other Hands, and now retains the *Sign* of it.—Money therefore being nothing more than a Certificate of Labour, it necessarily follows, that national Industry will always command as many of these Certificates, *i. e.* as much Gold and Silver, as are wanted for these Purposes. For if *Great Britain* hath Industry, and another Country Money, the Industry of the one will soon extract the Money of the other, in Spite of every Law, Penalty, and Prohibition that can be framed. Nay, to go a Step farther, Suppose a Country *separated from all the World*, and yet abounding in the Metals of Gold and Silver; it is very possible, that this Country may be in a *starving* Condition; and the Inhabitants of it much poorer than the poorest Beggar in our Streets. But if you will suppose, that the Inhabitants are likewise *nationally* Industrious, being skilful Husbandmen, and ingenious Artificers; and then I ask, What can they want? For surely they may live in that Country as happily as human Nature was designed to do.—This being the Case, let us now proceed to suppose, that all the Gold and Silver in that Country was lost and annihilated in one Night; and what would be

the Consequence, but plainly this, that the Inhabitants would then devise some other Ticket, or Counter, for the Exchange of mutual Industry, and the Circulation of Labour among one another?—Industry therefore being the only Riches of a State, what have we to fear from the Exportation of Gold and Silver, if it is to *promote Industry*? III

2d Answer, If the Coin, or Bullion, is carried out, in order to bring back such Things as tend to Idleness, and are preventive of national Industry, then the only proper Method of *checking* such a Trade is, to lay very high Duties upon the Commodities imported:—which will be itself a Means of increasing the Revenue, and of saving the Imposition of other Taxes. And thus may any Trade, not deserving national Incouragement, be checked and restrained to what Degree you please, and the Public avail itself in the mean time both by the Increase of Taxes, and the Discouragement of Idleness, Luxury, and expensive Pleasures;—So far therefore, it is to be hoped, there is no need of having recourse to exclusive Companies.

3d Answer, It is not true, that exclusive Companies are a Means of preventing the Extraction of Gold and Silver out of the Kingdom:—Nay, the Truth is, that they themselves are the *principal Cause* of it, as far as this Extraction is to be considered as a bad Thing.—For let us now inquire, what can be the Reason, that the Trade to the *East Indies* is a perpetual Drain of Gold, and more especially of Silver, from every Country in *Europe*, that trades thither? Indeed the great Monsieur *Montesquieu* is of Opinion, that Nature itself produces this Effect. “For, says he, the *Indians* have their Arts adapted to their manner of
“Living. Our Luxury cannot be theirs, nor their Wants ours. They
“go, in a great Measure, naked; such Cloaths as they have, the Coun-
“try itself furnishes. And their Religion, which is deeply rooted,
“gives them an Aversion for those Things which serve for our Nour-
“ishment. They want therefore nothing but our Bullion, to serve
“as the Medium of Value; and for which they give us in return Mer-
“chandises, which the Frugality of the People, and the Nature of the
“Country, furnish them in great Abundance.” *Spirit of Laws*, Book
XXI. Chap. 1. Now, with all due Respect to the Opinion of so great a Man, I humbly conceive, that his supposed Solution of this Phenomenon is, by no means, satisfactory. For he supposes, that these People are devoid of Ambition or Avarice (call it which you please) in one Respect; and yet greatly influenced by it in another. They have

no Desire or Ambition after European Goods, of any sort, or kind; and yet they are continually at Work, and take prodigious Pains to acquire European Money. — This Account of human Nature is, in my poor Judgment, not a probable one. For why should the *Indians* be supposed to be devoid of all other Passions, but that of heaping up Money? And are there indeed no *European* Commodities, that might suit an *Eastern* Climate? What think you, for Example, of several Sorts of thin Stuffs, Linens, painted Linens and Cottons, Lawns, Cambrics, Thread Laces, Gold and Silver Laces, *Dresden* Works, Mignonettes, Ribbons, variety of Silks, and other Matters relating to Dress and Apparel? Surely the mere Heat of the Country can be no Bar against the Introduction of any of these Things, and a thousand Articles of the like Nature. Nor will it be any sufficient Answer to say, that these People will not wear any *European* Commodities, because they manufacture such Things in their own Country, as serve the same Ends. For this is contrary to every tried Principle in human Nature, and indeed is contrary to the known Practice of this very People. For they do actually consume many Pieces of warm *English* Broad Cloth, against the Use of which much stronger Objections might be formed, were Men to reason after this manner. I ask therefore again, Why are we to suppose, that an *Indian* of Distinction would not be as proud of being seen in a Robe of *English* Silks, Brocades, or Embroideries, painted Linens or Cottons, and of being adorned with Lawns, Cambrics, Thread Laces, Gold and Silver Laces, *Dresden* Works, Mignonettes, Ribbons, &c. &c. as an *European* is to be seen in a right *India* Silk, and to be fond of Callicoes, and Chintzes? — To this might be added, an infinite Variety of Toys and Trinkets, and all the curious Manufactures of Gold and Silver Vessels, Chase Works, and Jewelries; also the higher Manufactures of Brass, Iron, Steel, Glass, Paper, and Paper Hangings, Tapestries, Watches and Clock Works, Cabinet Wares, and Inlaid Works, Ingravings, Paintings, Globes, Maps, Mathematical Instruments, &c. &c. — Granting therefore, that an *Indian* Climate forbids the Use of Kerseys and Great Coats, and that their Religion will not allow of Wine or Spirituous Liquors, yet both their Climate and Religion will admit of such an infinite Variety of other Articles as might bring the Ballance of Trade perfectly even, if not turn it in our Favour. And though we are to suppose, that these Things are not made at present according to the *Indian* Taste and Fashion, yet this Difficulty might soon be got over; for, by the Help of a Pattern or two, our skilful Artificers might surely as easily accommodate their Work to the Genius

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and Gout of the *Indians*, as the Artificers of *Cbina* do, in painting *English* Coats of Arms on *Cbina* Services. There is therefore nothing in the Reason and Nature of the Thing, why it should come so universally to pass, that the Trade to the *East Indies* should be a continual Drain of Coin and Bullion.—But as the Fact is undoubtedly so, we must now endeavour to account for it upon other Principles. Let us therefore lay this down as a Maxim to build upon, *That Cheapness is a Temptation to buy, and Dearness a Discouragement.* And hence it will follow, that in Proportion as European Goods are rendered *cheap* in *India*, in that Proportion the Inhabitants will come more and more to use, and wear them. Now, when exclusive Companies are set up in *Europe* with a quite *opposite* Intent, *viz.* To raise the Price of European Goods as high, and make them as *DEAR* as possible, what must be the Consequence, but deterring and discouraging the *Indians* from buying them?—And by being deterred in general, they become perfect Strangers to many particular Sorts; so that the whole Trade is confined to those few Articles, which the Monopolists know and experience, will find a Vent. Add to this, that every Man, Monopolist or other, counts his Gains principally on what he *sells*, not on what he *buys*: But the Difference between them is this, that the free Trader, surrounded with *Rivals* and *Competitors*, sells as *cheap*, and as *much* as he can; reckoning his Gains by the *Quantity* sold, according to the old Proverb, *Many Littles make a Mickle*. Whereas the unrivalled Monopolist sells as *dear* as possible; and therefore cannot sell *much*. This being the Case, the judicious Reader will plainly see, that the Contest between *Great Britain* and *India* for the Ballance of Trade, is not carried on upon equal Terms: Because the *Indian*, who is surrounded with *Rivals*, sells to the exclusive Company as cheap as he can possibly afford, in order to secure the Custom to himself; but the exclusive Company acts upon a quite different Plan in regard to the *Indian*. Thus the Monopolist, and the free Trader, though both their Aims are Gain, yet pursue quite contrary Measures to obtain it. And the Consequence will ever be, *cæteris paribus*, that the free Trader shall carry the Ballance from the Monopolists. Put the Case therefore, that the Trade to *Portugal*, where we have at present so great a Ballance in our Favour, was erected into a Monopoly like that of the *India* Company;—But that all the *Portuguese* were at full *Liberty*, unrestrained by Civil Tyranny, or Ecclesiastical Bigotry, and all *Rivals* in trading with the *English*; and then I ask any reasonable honest Man, whether he doth not think, that the Ballance in our Favour would immediately lessen? Nay, whether he would not have

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Cause to fear, that in a few Years it would turn against us?—Now, were every Nation in *Europe* to trade with *Portugal* through the disadvantageous Medium of exclusive Companies, *Portugal* would then become, what *India* is now. Indeed this Matter is so reducible to the Affairs of common Life, that it may be illustrated by a very familiar Instance: Let the Town of *Birmingham* therefore, and the City of *London* contend for the Ballance of Trade, respecting each other: But let the City give up all its Right of free Trade to one Man, or Set of Men, called a Company. Now this exclusive Company neither will, nor can sell their Goods so cheap, as private Adventurers would gladly do: They *will not*, because they know, that they have the whole Market to themselves, no other Citizen daring to rival, or *undersell* them: They *cannot*, because of the vast Expence they are at, in Fees, Jobbs, and Salaries, and in all the Pickings and Squeezings from the Governor in Chief down to the lowest Porter, and Sweeper of the Storehouse: Nay, they must have * *peculiar Sorts* of Waggons for the Carriage of their Goods; and their very Carriers and Drivers will stand them in double the Expence, they would do to other People. Therefore upon all these Accounts, the *few* Articles which they *can* sell, must be at an exorbitant Price;—perhaps *Cent. per Cent.* to what they otherwise would have been. This being the Case, the *London* Monopolists carry down Goods to the Value only of two thousand Pounds, were the Trade open; but as it is shut up, and confined, we must call the Value four thousand Pounds: The Goods are therefore sold at that Price; and the Money vested in the Manufactures of *Birmingham*, in order to make a back Freight, and profitable Return. But the *London* Monopolists finding these Manufactures so extremely cheap, and knowing, that they can dispose of them to prodigious Advantage, when brought home, are tempted to lay out four thousand Pounds more; that is, to carry out Coin, or Bullion, to that Amount. And thus it comes to pass, that the Ballance will ever be against the confined Trade, in favour of the free. Whereas, had the Trade on both sides been equally unrestrained, both would have strove to have sold the most as to Quantity, and the cheapest as to Price; and by that Means, would have created a mutual Employment for each other. In a word, Where the greater Numbers are employed, there lies the Ballance;—Such a Ballance, I mean, as only deserves the Public Regard, THE BALLANCE OF INDUSTRY; for Money without Industry, is an Hurt, not a Blessing.

IV. A

* This refers to the *peculiarly expensive* Methods of fitting up Ships for the *East India* Service, and the exorbitant Charges of the Voyage.

IV. A fourth Pretence is, "That exclusive Companies are necessary
 "in order to impress Awe and Respect on the Inhabitants of distant
 "Countries: For, say their Advocates, were the Trade to be carried
 "on by private Adventurers, or voluntary Associations, the Chiefs and
 "petty Princes, more especially the *Rajahs* and *Nabobs* of *India*, would
 "despise, insult, and maltreat single, unconnected Merchants, and
 "oblige them to be for ever sending them Presents. But exclusive
 "Companies, by supporting Governors, Sub-Governors, &c. make a
 "great Display of Royal State, and Dignity; and the Appearance of
 "these Things strike a Terror and Reverence in the Natives, and pre-
 "vent these, and such like Impositions."

1st Answer, THIS Pretence of the Advantage of Governors, Sub-Governors, &c. is nothing else, but the former Apology for Forts and Military Establishments, put into a new Dress. And the Plea having been once confuted already, now makes its Appearance in another Form. But we will trust the judicious Reader with what has been said on that Part of the Subject, under the first Article.

2^d Answer, THOSE Gentlemen, who insist so peremptorily on the Necessity of keeping up the Appearance of great State and Dignity, in the Persons and Retinue of their Governors in *India*, have forgot to tell us, how comes it to pass, that these Things are more necessary in later, than in former Ages? For the Merchants of *Egypt*, of the *Roman* Empire, of *Palmira*, of the *Greek* Empire, and after them the *Saracens* and *Egyptians*, acted as mere Merchants, without any one Governor, Fort, or Military Establishment whatever. And yet we do not find, throughout all History, that the *Indian* Kings or Princes used them the worse for being thus without State or Pomp; nor did they maltreat these unconnected Merchants, but gave them all possible Incouragement to come, and trade among them. In short, Governors, and Sub-Governors, Forts and Military Establishments, were never thought of till the *Portuguese* introduced them. And what was their Motive for so doing?—Not to shelter Merchants, not to protect Trade, not to export a larger Quantity of their own Manufactures, and import Raw Materials, not to redress Wrongs, and to do themselves Justice; not all, or any of these: For none of these Things are so much as pretended by their own Advocates:—But their real View was, (as set forth by their own Historians) to make Conquests both in a *temporal* and a *spiritual* Sense; Conquests for the King, and for the Pope; having received a Commis-

tion from both for so doing. This now is the righteous, the blessed, the *Commercial* Origin of *East India* Governments, Forts, and Castles! And yet bad as this is, the *Portuguese* had no exclusive Companies at that juncture; their Trade was free, and open to all their Subjects; nor did the Notion of a Joint-stock Company and exclusive Privileges, obtain in *Europe* till many Years afterwards, when the Avarice of the *English* and *Dutch East India* Adventurers suggested this Conspiracy against the natural Rights and Liberties of the rest of their Countrymen; as shall be speedily shewn under proper Articles.

3d Answer, If the Appearance of external Splendor and Royal Dignity is so necessary to the Well-being of Trade, — may we be permitted to ask, How comes it to pass, that other Nations, who cannot make this Display, yet trade as freely, and beneficially without it, as the *English* themselves with all their Pomp and Pageantry. The *Ostend* Company, for Example, did trade, (maugre all the Endeavours of the *Dutch, French,* and *English* to the contrary, both in *India*, and in *Europe*) to as much Advantage as any others; and they would have remained flourishing Traders to this Day, had there been no other Difficulties to obstruct them. The *Emden* and *Gottenburg* Companies likewise are not in Possession of one Government in all *India*; — unless Factories, and Merchants Compting-Houses are to be honoured with that founding Name. For they have no Towns to govern, or Castles to command throughout the Country. Nay, the *English* themselves have no Governors in *China*; and are obliged to appear with as little Display of Royal State, as any unconnected Merchants whatever. Moreover what shall we say of the *East India* Company itself, even in *India*? Did they make this grand Appearance at first setting out, a Time of all others the most necessary so to do? Or is their subsequent Greatness to be ascribed to that Awe and Reverence, with which the Natives were seized at their first Appearance? — So far from it, that scarce any thing could have had a more mean and paultry Aspect, than this mighty Company, when first they came to trade in *India*. For their whole Fleet consisted only of * one Ship of six hundred Tons, another of three hundred, two others of two hundred, and another of one hundred and thirty, making one thousand four hundred and thirty Tons in all; a Force so little, that many private Merchants have at present, upon their own single Account, double the Tonnage of Shipping. And as to the Cargo, the total Value of the

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* This exclusive Charter was given by Queen *Elizabeth* the 31st of *December*, 1600, two Years before the *Dutch exclusive* Charter. — The Motives for granting both which will soon appear.

the Out-set of the Voyage rose no higher than to twenty six thousand Pounds Sterling;—which Sum might perhaps go as far, in those Days, in buying a Cargo fit for *India*, as twelve or fourteen thousand Pounds would do at present:—I say *perhaps* it would go as far; for certain it is, that it could not go much farther, the Prices of Goods proper for the *East Indies* being, in many Instances, about *Cent. per Cent.* and in some Cases *three hundred per Cent.* CHEAPER now than in the Days of *Queen Elizabeth*. In short, there are many fishing Towns now in *England*, that might, by a voluntary Association, fit out as great a Fleet, and as richly laden, as this which first sailed to the *East Indies*.

4th Answer, BUT after all, if Forts and Castles, and their Excellencies the Governors, with their pompous Train and Retinue are so very necessary, then it follows, that the Want of them is a Loss, which can fall only upon the free Trader, and not upon the Company. Why therefore are the Company so anxious in a Point, in which their own Interest is not at all concerned? And doth it not look a little suspicious, that they should debar the free Trader from making a Trial, one Experiment at least, when they know he cannot succeed?—Perhaps they may tell us, (as some indeed have told) that this is the Effect of their pure Benevolence and Good-will; for they, generous Souls! are unwilling to see their dear Fellow-Subjects aiming at such Projects as must prove their Ruin. Indeed, indeed this is too much!—And, to let them see that all this *disinterested* Benevolence, and pure Good-will are thrown away upon an ungrateful, disbelieving People, we will, in our turn, set forth our own Sense of the Matter: In the *first* Place, We are firmly persuaded, that if there never had been a Fort in *India*, the Trade had been infinitely more extensive than it is: And in the *second*, We are so far from dreading the Oppression or Violence of the Princes and great Men of the Country, that we should think our Traders much safer under their Protection, than under that of any Monopolizing Company whatever. And in support of this Assertion, let an Appeal be made to the Histories of every European Government in *India*; particularly to that of our own, as it was published in the last Edition of *The great Collection of Voyages*, Vol. I. Page 873, *Lond.* 1744: For there the Reader will find a Relation of such horrid Scenes of Lust, Avarice, and Cruelty, as will soon give him a Disgust for such kind of political Institutions. And as to the Use of Military Establishments, in order to preserve Peace and good Neighbourhood between the Natives and Europeans,—they are so far from contributing to this good End, that the contrary is evident beyond Contradiction; and indeed

indeed is acknowledged by all our own Historians. Nay, it must be confessed, if we will speak impartially, that for one Instance, in which the Natives have been the Aggressors, the European Governors have given the Provocation fifty times. And therefore when one considers what a Complication of Treachery, Insolence, and Oppression, these Strangers have been guilty of, for the Space of one hundred and fifty Years and upwards, towards the innocent and peaceable Proprietors of the Country, it might really be expected, that all the *Indian* Nations would unite, and rise as one Man (which they certainly would have done, had their separate Interests been more reconcileable) in order to expel these bloody Tyrants and Usurpers. In short, the real Fear of the exclusive Company is this, — Not that the private Traders would be ruined, but that the *Indians* would prefer dealing with them, rather than with the Agents of the Company: For they know very well, that the *Indians*, in such a Case, would both buy their Goods upon better Terms, and be better treated. And then their Governors might reign over the naked Walls of their empty Forts and Castles, without Trade, and without Inhabitants.

V. THE last Pretence is, “ That exclusive Companies must certainly be right, because all Nations have made use of them, preferably to any other Method. And what is thus universal, seems to have some Foundation in Reason, and Nature.”

1st Answer, IF this Reasoning were to hold good, the Consequence is, that no new Improvement could ever be made. For every new Improvement, Alteration of Measures, or Reformation of Conduct, suppose, in their own Nature, that the old Practice was very different.

2^d Answer, THE Presumption, that exclusive Charters *must be right*, because they have so universally prevailed in *Europe*, is effectually overthrown by tracing the original Motives for their Institution. And to elucidate this Matter, we will pitch upon the greatest, and most successful Company that ever existed, *viz.* The *Dutch* Company trading to the *East Indies*. Now in all these Institutions, the *Grantors* may have one Motive, and the *Grantees* another: And therefore the fairest Way will be to present the Reader with a View of both; in order that he may make his own Reflections.

THEREFORE in regard to the Views of the *Grantors*, *viz.* The States General, — that truly great and honest Patriot * *John De Wit*, explains

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their

* *De Wit's* true Interest and political Maxims of *Holland*, Lond. 1702. Chap. XIX. *viz.* Compulsion of Traffic.

their Motives in a few Words; viz. "The erecting of the *East* and "*West India* Companies was [at the Time of their Institution] a NE-
 "CESSARY EVIL; because our People *would be* trading in, and about
 "such Countries, where *our Enemies were too strong for particular*
 "*Adventurers*: So that this seemed to be necessary in all Respects, to
 "to lay the Foundation of that Trade by a *powerful, armed Society*.
 "And seeing this Country, engaged in a War against the King of
 "*Spain, had need of using all its Strength*, it was *very prudently* done
 "to erect those two Societies." Here, you see, in the first Place, he
 joins the *East* and *West India* Trade together; and supposes, that ex-
 clusive Companies were equally necessary, *at that Juncture*, for the
 carrying on of both: For his own strong, and emphatical Words are,
 "That Companies, at the Beginning, were *necessary Evils*." In the
 next Place, he explains the Reason, why he thought them necessary at
 that particular Juncture, viz. "That their Enemies the *Spaniards* (be-
 "ing then likewise in Possession of *Portugal*, and the *Portuguese* Set-
 "tlements) were too strong for private Adventurers; and that the
 "States General, being engaged in a War with the King of *Spain, had*
 "*need of using all their Strength*." — The plain Meaning of which is
 this, That nothing but the greatest Exigency of State could have justi-
 fied these *necessary Evils*; and that their High Mightinesses took this
 indirect Method of taxing their Subjects for carrying on a War in all
 Places at once, against the common Enemy, rather than of levying
 more Taxes in the ordinary Way; which they must have done, had
 they fitted out additional Fleets to support and protect the private Ad-
 venturers in the *East* and *West Indies*. Now as the Subjects of *Holland*
 were, at that Juncture, loaden with Taxes beyond what is well con-
 ceivable; and the Emissaries of *Spain*, in the Heart of the Republic,
 taking all Advantages, and endeavouring to make the Revolters weary
 of their new Government; — perhaps it was expedient at that *critical*
 Time to practise a little Deception upon the Understandings of their
 People: I say, *a Deception*; for such, in Fact, is every exclusive Com-
 pany, because it is a Tax, and a very grievous one, nay the most per-
 nicious of all others: But as it proceeds *indirectly*, and *obliquely*, it escapes
 the Notice of the Vulgar, and is not felt, but in its remote and gene-
 ral Consequences. However, the above Account of the Matter shews
 plainly, that according to the Judgment of this great and honest States-
 man, the Trade both to the *East* and *West Indies* ought to have been
 intirely free and unconfined, had not the aforementioned unhappy Cir-
 cumstances made a *temporary* Exclusion necessary. Now, as we all
 know,

know, that a Trade to the *West Indies* can be carried on without an Exclusion, it follows of Course, that upon removing *the one only Impediment* that to the *East Indies* can be carried on, and ought to be as free and open as the other. Nay this great Man is very express, and I may say, *prophetical* in his Observations: For his Words are, " But that Trade [to the *East and West Indies*] being now *so well settled*, we may justly make it a Doubt whether the said Companies ought any longer to continue on the same Foot. — For it is certain, that the *first moving Reason* of those Grants to them, which was the War with the King of *Spain*, NOW CEASETH; and that in Case of any new War with that People, they would no longer be formidable to us, but we to them. And secondly, as it is well known, that it was necessary at first to make some Conquests upon the *Spice Islands of the said Enemy*, because the more Lands they [the Company] conquered, the more Right and Ability they would acquire to the Trade which might happen in those Parts: So it cannot be denied, that when these good and necessary Conquests are made, the Grounds and Maxims of the Prosperity of the said Companies begin to *jostle and oppugn* the general Good of this Country; which is manifestly known to consist in a *continual Increase of our Manufactures, Traffic, and Freight-Ships*: Whereas nevertheless the true Interest of such Companies consists in seeking the Benefit of all the Members, even with foreign, as well as our own Manufactures, and (to the great Prejudice of all other our Inhabitants) by importing Manufactures, and other Mechanic Works into this Country, and vending them throughout *Europe*; and, in short,  By making the greatest Profit with the least Traffic and Navigation. As it is acknowledged, that if the *East India* Company can gain more by importing *Japan* Garments, *Indian* Quilts and Carpets, &c. than *raw Silk*;—or if the Company, by causing a Scarcity of Nutmegs, Mace, Cloves, Cinnamon, &c. could so raise the Price of them, that they might gain as much by *one hundred Lasts*, as by a *thousand* * ;

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* The Translation here is strangely perplexed and obscure; but the Author's Meaning is plain enough; *viz.* That if the Company could get more by importing Manufactures, than Raw Materials, they would certainly import Manufactures; and would likewise sell their Raw Materials as dear as possible. Moreover in regard to Spices, his Remark is, That the Company would rather *destroy nine Parts in ten*, than be at the Expence of carrying the nine Parts home, and then selling them for no more, than they now sell the Tenth. Thus do the Company, in this single Article, employ no more than a *tenth Part* of the Shipping, Sailors, Storehouses, Porters, &c. &c. which an *open, free* Trade would do.

“ we ought not then to expect that those raw Silks, and unnecessary
 “ and great Disbursements which they are at, should cause a greater
 “ Trade and Navigation than those hundred Lafts would just require,
 “ but that they would rather, to shun greater Traffic and Navigation,
 “ *destroy* all the Superfluity they have in the *Indies*. And it can be
 “ as little denied of such Companies, that the more Lands they con-
 “ quer, the more of their Stock they must necessarily spend for the
 “ Preservation and Defence of such Lands †; and the more Dominion
 “ they have, the less they are able to mind and augment their Traffic.
 “ Whereas, on the contrary, our particular Inhabitants by those mani-
 “ fold conquered strong Holds and Lands, would have so much the
 “ more Conveniency and Security to trade in the *Indies*. We have
 “ now, to say no more, quite lost our *open* Trade of *Guiney*, and that
 “ of Salt in the *West Indies*, which were heretofore so considerable,
 “ *by the erecting of the West India Company*: And the Mischief which
 “ was done to the King of *Spain* in the *West Indies*, is recoiled back,
 “ and fallen upon ourselves: So that we cannot cry up that Company,
 “ who have bound the Hands of particular Men, and made War in-
 “ stead of Traffic, unless at least they in the mean Time suffer all our
 “ Inhabitants freely to trade in all their Conquests. On the contrary,
 “ that Company hath *impoverished many of our good Inhabitants*.
 “ Whereas by an open Trade, and *consequently well settled Colonies*, we
 “ should not only, with small Charge, have easily defended those vast
 “ Lands of *Brazil, Guiney, Angola, St Thomas, &c.* against all foreign
 “ Power, but (which is more considerable) have been able to carry on
 “ a very great Trade with our own Nation, without Fear that any fo-
 “ reign Potentate should seize our Ships, Goods, or Debts, to which
 “ those *Hollanders* that trade only in *Europe* are continually exposed.
 “ And how profitable and secure that Trade would have been, may
 “ easily be apprehended, if it be well considered, that the said Lands yield
 “ the best Sort of Commodities that are in request over all *Europe*, and
 “ are not to be had so good elsewhere, *viz.* Sugar, Brazil-Wood, Ele-
 “ phants

† Here again is another strange Perplexity of Stile: But the Sense is very strong and
 nervous: *viz.* That Trade and Conquest are two different Things, the latter being
 quite incompatible with the former. If therefore Conquests are to be made, such Con-
 quests ought to be undertaken by the Public; and then secured, and improved by plant-
 ing Colonies; in short, *suum cuique*, the State to conquer, and the Subject to trade;
 and a Conquest without a View of planting a Colony, is an Absurdity both in Trade,
 and Politics. Hence therefore it follows, that in settling Colonies, the State should give
 an intire Liberty to all the Inhabitants of the Mother Country to trade with the Colo-
 nies; for this is the only Way of strengthening, and supporting both.—Such is the Ar-
 gument of this judicious and unprejudiced Writer: And I will venture to say, it is un-
 answerable.

"phants Teeth, Gold, &c. and that which those Inhabitants have need
 "of in return, *Holland* could, for the most Part, have supplied them
 "with, as Victuals, Drink, and Apparel; yea even with most Mate-
 "rials for building Houses, Ships, &c. whereas now we are deprived
 "of all these Advantages. ¶ This is the ordinary Fruit and Punish-
 "ment of *Monopolies*, and *Conquests*, which, for want of Colonies, they
 "must keep up at a continual great Charge. May our *East India*
 "Company consider this effectually, ere it be too late!"

THUS far this great Man: But alas! his patriotic Wish will never
 be regarded by an exclusive Company; for their Views are, to sacrifice
 the Good of their Country to their own Interest, and to bring every
 other Set of Members of the Commonwealth *so low*, as not to be able
 to oppose their Designs. However, we see from hence the original
 Motive of the States General in granting these Exclusions, and the sub-
 sequent Uses which the Monopolists made of them. Perhaps there-
 fore it would have been better, that the States General had submitted
 to the *temporary* Inconveniences arising from the *Spanish* War, rather
 than to have sought to have redressed them by establishing exclusive
 Companies. For that *supposed* Remedy is only the changing of a *pre-*
sent Evil, of no great Extent, for one that is *future*, and every Day ex-
 tending, and increasing. Let this therefore be a Lesson to all States here-
 after how they grant Monopolies, if they really regard the Good of
 their People. For the Establishment of an exclusive Company, *be the*
Motive what it will, may be compared to the Hedge-Hog in the Fa-
 ble; who at first was a most humble Petitioner to have one Night's
 hospitable Lodging in another's Apartment; but when he had once got
 Possession, he set up his Bristles, and was too strong to be removed.

BUT it is now high time, that we should take a View of the Mo-
 tives of the Petitioners, or *Grantees*, in this Affair. It appears from
 the *Dutch* Histories, that at the Beginning of the Republic, several
 Persons entered into voluntary Associations, to carry on a Trade with
India; and they not only made successful Voyages, (which by the
 By is a plain Proof, that a Trade can be carried on without an
 exclusive Company) but also beat their Enemies, the *Spaniards* and
Portuguese in several Rencounters. "But † while their Navi-
 "gation continued to be thus successful, and the Trade of the *In-*
 "dies flourished more and more, there happened an Accident that
 "discontinued their former good Fortune, and threatened Ruin to the
 "whole; I mean the Plurality of Companies [voluntary Associations]
 "that were formed, and the sorry Understanding that was between
 "them.

† The great Collection of Voyages, Book I. Chap. ii. Sect. 6. Page 927.

“ them. Oftentimes many of them fitted out Ships for the same Port,
 “ which lowered the Price of their Goods, and discouraged the Sailors.
 “ The States General being acquainted with these Inconveniences,
 “ called a Meeting at the *Hague* of the Directors of the Companies
 “ both of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and obliged them to unite in one Body
 “ for the future, to which their High Mightinesses joined their Consent
 “ and Authority. The Treaty that was then agreed upon, was con-
 “ firmed by a Patent from the Sovereign Power, for twenty one Years,
 “ commencing from the Date, viz. *March* 20, 1602. The Patent
 “ being given out, the Company became a very considerable Body,
 “ and made a joint Stock of 6,600,000 Livres,” which, I suppose, is
 about 300,000 *l.* Serling.

HERE, Reader, the Truth is come out at last: — There were too
 many *Rivals* in the Trade! — The Price of European Goods was low-
 ered in *India*! — And, dreadful to relate! by the coming of different
 Ships to the same Port, the Natives had the Liberty of trading with those
 that used them best! After this plain Demonstration, dare any Man mut-
 ter a Word against Monopolies and Exclusions? — For who is so blind,
 but must see the Necessity of them? — Alas, for want of these necessary E-
 stablishments, our Merchants trading to *Spain* and *Portugal* are often in the
 same Plight with the above mentioned honest *Dutchmen*: That is, for
 want of a good *Understanding among themselves*, they often send Ships to the
 same Port, and lower the Prices to that Degree, that the *Spaniards* and
Portuguese are tempted to purchase ten times the Quantities of Woollen
 Cloths, and other *English* Manufactures, than they would have done,
 had the Trade been properly managed: Nay, the Evil is still greater;
 for they bring home such large Quantities of *Spanish* Wool, Oils, Iron,
 Steel, Dye Stuff, and other raw Materials, that the Market is over-
 stocked: And (Reader you must believe me, for I speak the true mer-
 cantile Dialect) Trade is not worth carrying on, there is so little to be got
 by it. — However, it is by means of this *bad Trade*, this Trade that is
 not worth carrying on, that the Nation subsists in its present Plenty, and
 is increasing in Wealth, and Manufactures every Day. And were you
 to make the Trade *worth carrying on*, in their Sense of the Word, you
 would soon have the Comfort of sinking the Value of Lands to twelve
 or fourteen Years purchase (as they were formerly) and of raising the
 Interest of Money to eight or ten *per Cent*. For these are the Blessings
 that always attend Monopolies and Exclusions, and Trades that are
 worth carrying on. Indeed the *Turky* Company in the Year 1718,
 made a noble Effort towards bringing these Blessings upon us, as speedily

as possible. For they came to a very pious Resolution, in a general Court, held for that Purpose, the 20th of *March*, which was, *To prevent the Exportation of all English Manufactures, and the Importation of raw Materials for two whole Years and a Quarter*: And, like true Patriots, they honestly and bravely declared, *That this was done with an Intent of raising the Price of English Cloth in Turkey, and of Turkey raw Silk in England*.—Therefore with this Sample of *exclusive, monopolizing Patriotism*, let us (being sufficiently tired) conclude the Scene, and leave the indignant Reader to make his own Reflections, which, I make no doubt, he will not spare.

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AND now, after all this Pro-ing and Con-ning, and wading through the Shoals of Absurdity and Nonsense, and sounding the various Depths of Chicane and Dishonesty, I hope to be somewhat the shorter as to what is to follow.

I. THEREFORE, in regard to the *Turkey Company*, the late Attempts towards opening this Exclusion were greatly defeated by the obstinate Opposition of its few Friends and Advocates. For indeed a very few, by dint of teasing, objecting, perplexing, and other the like honest Arts, have it in their Power, in such a Constitution as ours, to tire out the Patience of the many, and to gain those Advantages by assiduous Attendance and perpetual Opposition, to which they have no other Merit, or Pretence. But this Matter will appear the more fully by entering into Particulars.

FIRST, It was the Design and Aim of the Friends of Liberty, and an open Trade, to have demolished all Pretences of Fines of Admission. But alas! they could only obtain a Mitigation; the Fine being still 20*l.* which, together with other Items, amount to 22*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* Now a Fine, in the Nature of the Thing, supposes a Punishment for having done something wrong; I ask therefore, What Crime is there in exporting the Labour and Industry of our own People, and importing raw Materials to keep them still employed? — A Crime, I grant it is against the Monopolist and Excluder, and a very unpardonable one; but, with Submission, I do not apprehend it is any against the State. However, the Answer is, That this Fine is necessary in order to pay the Expences the Company must be at; and at the same Time is so very small, as to prevent no Person of Substance from engaging in the Trade, if he is inclined. — As to the Article of Expences, that shall be taken into Consideration in another Place; but in regard to the Smallness of the Fine,

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as being no Discouragement to Trade, I deny it absolutely. For every Burden is a Discouragement, especially in a new Trade, where the Mind is ballancing, whether it shall ingage in it or not. Put the Matter therefore home; and suppose, that every Man was obliged to pay a Fine of 20*l.* before he commenced an Exporter of *English* Manufactures to *Spain*, or *Portugal*, or the *American* Plantations; — and then I ask, Can you think, that the Number of Exporters, or the Quantities exported, would be as great as they are at present? — If they would not in that Case, why should you expect them in this? Besides, there is a wide Distinction to be made between opening a new Trade, and ingaging in an old one, well known and established. And, in Fact, the *Turky* Trade is so little extended, that it may still be considered, in a great Measure, as unknown: And though the Probability of Success is very great, yet in Cases of Risques and Hazards, tell me, where is the Merchant that will give 20*l.* for a *Licence*, merely for the Sake of making Discoveries and Experiments? — In short, a new Trade is necessarily *precarious* in one degree or other; and the old Stagers will throw all the Difficulties they possibly can, in the Way of a new Adventurer. Therefore he ought rather to be assisted, than discouraged, by the Legislature. For a new Trade is like a Nursery of young Trees: And as the sturdy Oak was once a tender Plant, I ask, Which, in your Opinion, is the best Policy, — To cherish and fence it round, while it is *young*; or to nip it in the Bud, and destroy it, before it can gather Strength?

SECONDLY, The Tax laid upon Exports, and payable in *Turky*, is a most unreasonable and absurd Duty. For it is a Tax upon Industry and Manufactures; and is the unhappy Remains of those antient Blunders, under which the whole Nation formerly groaned. — I am well aware, that the present Pretence is, that this Tax must be levied in order to defray the Charges of keeping an Ambassador at the Port, and Consuls in other Cities: And therefore, if the Company did not take this Method of taxing themselves, the Burden would be laid upon the Public, which hath Burdens enough already. Here now lies the Delusion! As if a Tax upon Industry and Manufactures was no Burden to the Public! And as if the Nation itself did not pay the Tax, because the Tax-Gatherers are not called Excisemen, or Customhouse Officers! Strange Infatuation! For if this Tax had been levied, and paid in our own Customhouses at the Time of Exportation, every Man in the Kingdom would have acknowledged, in that Case, that it was a Tax upon the Public; — and (what is much worse) a Tax upon the *Manufacturing*
Part

Part of the Public, laid upon them at the very time in which they ought to be tax-free, viz. *while they are at work*: (Indeed a Tax upon them, *while they are idle*, would have been a good Thing; and the more of such Taxes, the more industrious Men would be, and consequently the *Richer*.) Therefore this being the Case, surely the Nature of the Tax remains the same, whether the Sum is collected in *Turky*, or in *England*; and, say what you will, a Tax upon the Exports of Manufactures, is the heaviest, most oppressive, and most impoverishing Tax you can possibly lay. But

THIRDLY, This Power granted to the Company of taxing the Manufactures of the Kingdom, brings on another great Inconvenience along with it; viz. The Power of paying the Ambassadors and Consuls. For the Governors, or Directors of the Company are, of Course, in the sole Possession of this Power. And a very moderate Insight into human Nature, will suffice to teach us, that such a Prerogative carries a vast Influence along with it; An Influence the more dangerous, as there is no guarding against it by private Regulations, or detecting it in a legal Way; there being thousands of Instances, wherein the Ambassadors, and Consuls can favour one Set of Men, and prejudice the others, without doing any thing that a Court of Judicature can punish, or take hold of. This being the Case, whom, do you think, will they be so likely to favour, as the Men who can *accelerate*, or *retard* the Payment of their Salaries, and can always find out plausible Reasons for making them *additional Gratuities*, by way of Recompense for their *extraordinary Services*, and signal Merits? or, on whom will they turn the dark Side of their Horizon, but on those, who are not in the Interest of, perhaps in Opposition to the Governors and Directors? In short, this single Article, were there no others, hath a necessary Tendency towards throwing the whole Trade into the Hands of the Merchants belonging to the Metropolis, and excluding all the Out-Ports. Judge therefore, whether you can call such a Trade a *free one*. But as in other Cases one Evil begets another, so it is in this; for

FOURTHLY, The same Pretence of levying the Tax upon the Members of the Company, hath brought on a very remarkable Regulation, or By-Law, for shutting up the Trade, even since the last Act of Parliament was past for opening it. For it is such a Law, as in its obvious Consequences, defeats the whole Intention of the Act. — The By-Law referred to, as I am credibly informed, is to this Effect, viz. That all Members shall give in a List of the several Particulars they send abroad, in order that the Duties may be collected on them, when they arrive

arrive in *Turky*. Now the latent Mischief which will necessarily result from this Order, is the following, That the governing Part of the Company will always discover what kind of Trade is carried on by every other Member; whereas the other Members, especially those of the Out-Ports, will not have the same Advantage over them. And I appeal to every sensible, mercantile Person, whether he would chuse to inform his *Rival* of every Branch of Trade he is carrying on, and of every *new* Attempt he intends to make, at the same time that his *Rival* conceals all from him? — And whether he doth not think, that this single Disadvantage is not of prodigious Consequence in the Course of Trade, and hath an immediate Tendency towards a Monopoly, and Exclusion?

FIFTHLY, Another Difficulty still remaining is, The Prohibition against imploying any Agents or Factors, but *English-born* Subjects. For why should this Prohibition still continue? and what Interest can it serve but that of a Monopoly? If *English-born* Factors will vend the greatest Quantity of *English* Labour in *Turky*, they ought to have, and certainly will have the Preference, because they are best known at home; and it will be the Interest of the Exporter to imploy them. But if *English* Agents aim at great Profits upon small Exports, they are the worst Commercial Enemies the *English* Nation can have; and therefore deserve no kind of Preference, or Incouragement. Besides, every exclusive Privilege is a Temptation to do amiss; and when *English* Factors abroad know that their Constituents at home are restrained from imploying any but themselves, they are tempted to do such Things, and to make such bad Uses of their Power, as never would have entered into their Heads, had the Trade been free.

SIXTHLY, The Oath of Secrecy is another strange Absurdity still remaining. For what is a Member of the Company to keep secret? nay, why is he put at all under such an Obligation? Is he to keep secret, That he will sell as cheap as he can afford; and give as good a Price to the Natives for their Goods, as any other of his Rivals? If this is the Secret, it were better it were published on the House Top. — But undoubtedly the Reader expects to hear of Secrets of another kind; and he shall not be disappointed: For the Secrets referred to in this Oath are the *Secrets of Trade*, and the *Secrets of an exclusive Company*; of which the following Rule, or Order, may probably serve as a goodly Specimen; which you will find in their Books under the Article of BATTULATIONS; viz. “ It was resolved and ordered, that as
“ it is very expedient to avoid as much as possible the having Recourse
“ to

" to the Tribunals of the Country, in all Matters of Commerce in
 " *Turky*, and as it hath been found by long Experience, that the Bat-
 " tulation of (or Interdiction of all farther Commerce with) such Sub-
 " jects of the Country, as shall act fraudulently, and refuse to give
 " just Satisfaction, or persevere in unwarrantable and irregular Prac-
 " tices, or, in *Case of Dispute in any Matter of Business*, refuse to sub-
 " mit to the National [*English*] Magistrate, or to an equal Arbitration,
 " —has been of great Use towards this, and other good Ends for the
 " Benefit of the Trade of His Majesty's Subjects into the *Levant*: If
 " any Factor, or Factors, shall have *any manner* of Dealings with, or
 " by any Person *battulated* by the Lord Ambassador, or by the Consul
 " of any of the Scales in *Turky*, with the *Advice of the respective Fac-*
 " *tories*; such Factor, or Factors, shall pay a Fine for every Offence, to
 " the Amount of three Consulages upon the Value of the Transaction
 " by, or with such *battulated* Person. And the Lord Ambassador at
 " *Constantinople*, and the Consuls at *Smyrna* and *Aleppo*, for the Time
 " being, shall, upon full and legal Proof of such Offence, IMMEDI-
 " ATELY levy the said Fine upon the Offender by DISTRAINT, or
 " OTHERWISE, without admitting ANY APPEAL to the Company, to
 " be paid to the Company's Treasurer for their sole Use and Benefit,
 " and not chargeable to the Account of the Factor's Principal."

Now it must be owned, that such Resolutions as these ought to be
 kept *secret*: For no Government upon Earth would willingly submit
 to such an Indignity as is here offered to the *Ottoman* Port by the *Turky*
 Company; an Indignity the more outrageous, as it is committed with-
 in its own Territories, and by those Persons who reside there only
 upon Sufferance. Put the Case therefore, that the *Turks* traded to
England, instead of the *English* to *Turky*; and that these INFIDELS
 and FOREIGNERS should take upon them to erect a Tribunal of
 their own, in Opposition to the Tribunals of the *English* Nation; and
 by Virtue of this extra-judicial Court should *battulate*, that is, excom-
 municate, or out-law, not only one another, but the Natives them-
 selves; —I ask therefore, Is there a Man in *Great Britain*, that would
 not resent such an Affront, and think the Persons who committed it
 very unworthy of the Favour and Protection of the *British* Nation?
 Besides, supposing that an *English* Factor had a Difference with a
 Native *Turk*, or *Grecian*, why must the other Factors quarrel with
 him upon this Account? For if the Native of the Country has the
 Character of being a fraudulent, dishonest Man, and really deserves
 it, the other Factors need not be told, much less *compelled*, to break
 off

off their Connections and Correspondence with him; because it will be, at least, as much their Interest in *Turky* to shun, or avoid a Rogue or a Knave, as it is their Interest in *England*. But if the chief Crime of this *battulated*, or *outlawed* Person is, that he hath not bowed the Knee to *Baal*, and has dared to disoblige the *lordly* Consul, or some *leading* Factor at the Scale, what is that to the *British* Nation? And why must every other Consideration be sacrificed to the implacable Resentment of a *Bashaw* Consul, or a *Bashaw* Factor? In short, this Rule, or Order of the Company, is worded so very loosely, that it may be made to signify any Thing, or every Thing whatever: And if a Native of *Turky* may be battulated *for persevering in unwarrantable, or irregular Practices, and for not submitting to the national English Magistrates in any Case of Dispute about Business*, I should be glad to know, what particular Rule the Company have (if this is not likewise as great a *Secret* as the rest) to determine and limit the Meaning of these general Words?—Sure I am, that if the Writer of these Sheets was in the Power of the Company, he would be BATTULATED to a Purpose, for his thus *persevering in his unwarrantable, and irregular Practices*, in writing against Monopolies. — But though the Affair is so extravagantly absurd, as to tempt a Man to treat it ludicrously; yet it is too tragical a Subject for Ridicule. And when the Reader has been informed, that even *Englishmen* themselves have been put under this imperial Ban of Battulation, nothing more need be added towards raising in him a just Spirit of Indignation against these Tyrannies, and Oppressions. Thus much therefore may suffice by way of Specimen, concerning the *Secrets* and *Mysteries* of Monopolies and Exclusions.—And I can assure the Reader, that the *Turky* Company (tho' several other Samples might be given) are not worse, perhaps not so bad in these Respects, as some others that might be named.

SEVENTHLY and lastly, The Continuance of the Prohibition against exporting Coin, or Bullion, is another Absurdity, and tyrannical Imposition: It is an *Absurdity*, because the chief Call for Money in *Turky*, according to the Company's own Account, is to purchase Raw Silk, and Mohair Yarn: Judge therefore, which deserves the Preference among a *manufacturing* Nation, a Lump of Gold or Silver, or a Bale of Raw Materials? and consider, which employs the most Hands, or circulates the most Labour? — It is likewise a *tyrannical Imposition*, because the governing Part of the Company never can, in the Nature of the Thing, be subject to this Restriction. For, *Quis Custodes custodiet ipsos?* Who will be able to restrain the leading Men, and chief Factors from

from exporting that kind of Goods, by which they are to get most? Therefore, if they can make use of such a Pretence in order to keep down the Market of Raw Silk in *Turky*, and so prevent their *Rivals*, especially those of the *Out-Parts*, from buying with ready Money, is it to be supposed, that they will not take the Advantage, and make the better Bargain for themselves? — Those who can believe the contrary, know very little of human Nature, and nothing at all of exclusive Companies. — But as the Affair of the Exportation of Coin, or Bullion, is to come more professedly upon the Carpet in the ensuing Chapter, we will not anticipate it at present.

SUCH therefore being the present State of the *Turky* Company, I appeal to all the World, whether this Trade can be said to be truly FREE? Nay, whether it doth not still bear about it the evident Marks of Monopoly, and Exclusion? In short, there is not the least Shadow of a Pretence for keeping up an *incorporated* Company to trade to *Turky*, but what might equally serve for erecting a new one to trade to *Spain*, and *Portugal*, or almost any other Kingdom. And if the antient Company trading to *Spain* had not been yet demolished (for there was a Time, when even this Trade was under an Exclusion) the same sort of Pretences would now have been urged at this Day for the Continuance of the one, which are brought at present in Support of the other. Nay, if we consider the Nature and Temper of the *Spaniards*, their excessive Jealousy with regard to their Wives and Daughters, their extreme Bigotry, their frequent Processions and public Adorations of the Host, together with the Rigour and Strictness of the Inquisition; especially their searching after heretical, or prohibited Books; — and if we contrast these Things with the licentious Dispositions and Behaviour of an *English* Sailor, and the Thirst of a *British* Merchant after Gain, we must confess, that the Objections against opening a Trade to *Spain* would make a much more formidable Appearance than any that can be alledged in behalf of other Exclusions. — But if you once establish a Company, they will never want Pretences for the Continuance of it. And therefore there is but one way to make the Trade truly free and useful; and that is, to demolish the Company intirely, and thereby effectually cut off all Artifices, and Pretexes of making By-Laws and Regulations for the good Government of Trade. For as long as these remain, do what you will, Monopoly and Exclusion will creep in, and cover themselves under a thousand different Disguises. In short, this Commercial Hydra must be pierced to the Heart, if you hope to destroy it: For the Lopping off an Head, or two, will signify little, when
twenty

twenty others are ready to sprout up. Nay, the very *Russia* Company, which, one would think, hath the least Power of doing Mischief of any in the World, yet find Ways and Means to exclude those Persons, particularly *Russians* and Foreigners, from the Freedom of Trade, whose Interest interferes with that of the leading Men of the Company, or the chief Factors abroad; several Instances of this Nature having been clearly proved at the Bar of the honourable House of Commons a few Sessions ago. Let therefore the *Turky* Trade be put upon the same Footing as that to *Spain* and *Portugal*; and let the Expences of Ambassadors and Consuls be born by the Public, and carried to the Account of the *current Service of the Year*: And this Polity alone will be sufficient. Indeed the Public bears all at present, and that in the most disadvantageous Way that could possibly be contrived. For the Method of taxing Manufactures exported, and Raw Materials imported, is the same Absurdity in Trade, as it would be in Mechanics to use the *disadvantageous Lever* in order to assist your natural Strength. And every Butcher can tell us, that a Quarter of a Pound at the long End of the Steelyard, can weigh down an hundred Weight placed at the short End: Just so it is in regard to Taxes; For a Tax upon Manufactures exported, or Raw Materials imported, is an heavier Tax than four hundred times the Sum, when properly laid on. Therefore, it is high time that all these absurd Practices should be abolished; and Things put upon their proper Footing. And then, and *not till then*, the Trade will BE FREE.

II. IN regard to another great Monopoly, *viz.* The *Hudson's Bay* Company, the Case stands thus; When King *Charles II.* was restored, he not only revived all the former Monopolies relating to foreign Trade, but created as many new ones, foreign and domestic, as the Times would then admit; I say, *then* admit: For the arbitrary Proceedings of *Charles I.* in relation to these Things, were too odious, and too recent for the Son to proceed immediately the same exorbitant Lengths. And as these Stretches of the Prerogative in the preceding Reign brought on the first Complaints, according to Lord *Clarendon's* own Account, so it is observable, That when the Parliamentary Party got to be uppermost, they abolished, or at least superseded all exclusive Charters relating to foreign Trade. And this Fact is the more remarkable, inasmuch as the *Turky* Company (of whom so much hath been said in the preceding Article) were pleased to call it a *Grievance*, and to make it the

Basis

Basis of their Petition to King *Charles II.* soon after his Restoration, in order to obtain a new Charter, and such other new Powers as were still more excluding and oppressive; viz. "And whereas by the humble "Petition of the said Governor and Company of Merchants of *England* trading into the *Levant* Seas, We are given to understand, That "in these late Times of *Libertinism*, many of the known Privileges of "the said Company have been violated, — KNOW YE, &c." Now that the Reader may likewise know a little concerning these *libertine Violations*, it may not be amiss to recite one of them by way of Sample; viz. "And for that divers Persons our Subjects of refractory and "perverse Minds, seeking as much as in them lieth to disturb the said "Trade, by wilful refusing to Account with their Principals, and to "pay the Company's Duties; — And otherwise by attempting, or practicing to violate, break, and make void the Privileges of the said "Company, or any of them; — And being of scandalous Life do appeal oftentimes from the Justice of the *English* Ambassador, or Consuls, or Vice-Consuls, to *Turkish* Judicatories and Justice, to the "great Prejudice of the said Company and Trade, and the Dishonour "of the *English* Nation, and Scandal of their Religion. We willing "to prevent, &c."

SEE here now, a selfish, grasping, exclusive Company, transformed all of a sudden into a godly, benevolent Society for the Reformation of Manners! And, what is stranger still, the *Profanely-Popish* King *Charles II.* converted into an holy Zealot for the Honour of the Christian Religion, and the Protestant Faith! Surely we have great Reason to expect rare Doings in consequence of such good Beginnings! And therefore, after having re-established the **Turky* Company, the *East India* Company, and some others, the King proceeded to erect this new one of the *Hudson's Bay*, putting them in Possession, as far as Parchment and Wax could do it, of a Country without Bounds or Limits, (but which we know for Certainty is about as big as half *Europe*, and how much more we cannot tell) and constituting twenty or thirty private Men the absolute Sovereigns of this immense, and hideous Waste. If you should ask, With what View this was done? I can

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answer,

* The Charter for the *Turky* Company is dated the 2d of *April*, 1661, that for the *East India* Company was granted the very next Day: — And I believe several others, viz. The *Guiney* Company, the *Morea* Company (a Sprout of the *Turky* Company) the *Muscovia* Company, and the *Greenland* Company (which was a Branch of it) the *Hamborough* Company, the *East Land* Company, &c. were re-established either this Year, or the ensuing. — In such Haste were the *Stuart* Family to return to their old Courses of Ruling by Prerogative.

answer, That the View of the Company was, to export as little as possible of the *British* Manufactures, and to import as little as possible of raw Materials, in order to get the more exorbitant Price both for the one, and the other: And they have greatly succeeded in both these destructive Schemes. For the *British* Manufactures sell at *Hudson's Bay*, one with another, after the Rate of four hundred *per Cent.* more than they would have done, had the Trade been free: That is, † If you suppose the Quantity of Manufactures now exported, to cost here at home four thousand Pounds, then, instead of sending out four thousand Pounds worth of Labour to purchase Furs and Peltry, we should have

† This State of the Exports, and Imports of the *Hudson's Bay* Company, is much more favourable on their Side, than it need have been, had we gone to the Rigour of the Matter: But I was willing to let the Reader see the mischievous Effects of these Devourers of Mankind, *Monopolies*, when viewed even in the most favourable Light. For the Account given in the Pamphlet, entitled, *A short State of the Countries and Trade of North America claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company*, London, Printed for J. Robinson, 1749, Page 5, is as follows; "The Company, to engross this beneficial Trade to themselves, and to prevent its being known, or inquired into by the Merchants of Britain, confine their Trade in this extensive Continent, to the Exporting of Goods and Manufactures to the Value of three thousand six hundred Pounds annually, at a Medium; in which is included Provisions and Necessaries for their Servants at their Factories: And for that Export, import annually Furs, Peltry, &c. to the Value of about thirty or forty thousand Pounds: When, if these Countries were settled, and the Trade extended and improved, by civilizing and incorporating with the Natives, ~~by~~ allowing them a more equitable Trade, and carrying up our Manufactures into their Countries by these large navigable Rivers in Summer, and by Sledges in Winter, and by that means employing more of the Natives in Hunting, and enabling them to become industrious;—our *British* Exports might reasonably increase to two hundred thousand Pounds, and our Imports from thence to above four hundred thousand Pounds in a very short Time, as by presumptive Proofs may be easily made appear." Now the Views of the Company are just the Reverse of every Thing here recommended.—And yet had as this is, they have found a Man hardy enough to undertake their Defence in a *public Manner*; and even to justify the Smallness of their Exports, confidently asserting, That it is more for the Nation's Advantage to export four thousand Pounds worth of Labour, than sixteen thousand Pounds worth; that is, That it is better for the Kingdom, that one Fleece of Wool should be used, one Spinner, Weaver, Scribler, Dyer, Clothier, Carrier, Factor, Porter, Packer, Sailor, &c. &c. be employed; than that four Fleeces should be used, or four Spinners, Weavers, and four times as many of all the rest of the long List of Trades-people should be employed: And in short, that Industry and Rivalship ought to be checked and discouraged, as being contrary to the Interests of a Nation, because they are repugnant to the Views of Monopolists. Is this Man now a Judge of National Commerce, and of the means of promoting it?—Or if he is, can you look upon this as a Specimen of it? Surely, either his *Head*, or his *Heart* must be greatly here in Fault. If out of four Spinners, Weavers, &c. in a Parish, three of them should want Work by means of this Monopoly, and become chargeable to the Parish, will this Gentleman, or will the Company pay for their Maintenance, and take upon themselves that Burden, of which they have been the real Authors?

sent out four times as much, viz. Sixteen thousand Pounds worth to purchase the *same Quantity* of Furrs and Peltry: Moreover, when this Quantity is brought home to *England*, it is sold at present *Cent. per Cent.* dearer than it would have been, had the Trade to *Hudson's Bay* been as open to all Adventurers as that to *Newfoundland, Greenland, Nova Scotia, &c. &c.* that is, the *same* given Quantity of Furrs and Peltry which now sell for forty thousand Pounds, would gladly have been sold for twenty thousand Pounds:—which indeed would have been sufficient Profit, viz. twenty five *per Cent.* upon the Voyage. Therefore in regard to *Exports*, this Company defrauds the Nation of *three-fourths* of the Quantity of Labour or Industry, which it hath a Right to have, according to the Nature of Commerce; and in regard to *Imports*, it lays a Tax on *Raw Materials* of *Cent. per Cent.* as a Discouragement to future Industry; and by that Means actually stifles numberless Branches of Commerce in the very Birth. But this is not all: For if the rival Traders would have exported sixteen thousand Pounds worth of *British* Manufactures, where the *Monopolists* export only four thousand Pounds, in order to obtain the very *same Quantity* of *Indian* Goods; they would, for the like Reason, have augmented their Exportations, in order to augment their Imports: That is, they would send out still greater Quantities of Manufactures, in order to tempt the *Indians* by Cheapness, and good Usage, to bring down still greater Quantities of Furrs and Skins: And it is well known, that the *Indians* might, and would bring down ten times the Quantities, provided they had proper Incouragement so to do. Hence therefore it is plain, that even this single Article of Trade, as now carried on, might be extended, in relation to *Exports* from four thousand to sixteen thousand Pounds, and from sixteen thousand Pounds to one hundred and sixty thousand Pounds worth of Labour. And in relation to *Imports*, the Quantity of *Raw Materials* would have been just ten times as much, and at Half-Price. — So far as to the present staple Trade; — But we have, by no means, as yet seen thro' all the ill Consequences attending Charters of Monopolies. For these Exclusions not only prevent the natural Expansion of that Trade, in which they are at present concerned; but also are a Bar against opening any new Sources, or making any farther Discoveries. And indeed, why should a Monopolist, who can coolly, and quietly, and without Risque, get an *Exceeding* of four hundred *per Cent.* upon his Exports, and *Cent. per Cent.* upon his Imports, — Why, I say, should such an one think of opening new Channels, or of making farther Discoveries in the Way of Trade?

For all new Attempts and Experiments must be attended at first with certain Expence, and with a considerable Degree of Uncertainty, as to the final Event, or future Success. Therefore these Attempts are seldom, or ever made but in a *free Trade*, where *rival* Adventurers, pushing against each other, *over-stock the Trade*, as the Phrase is; and then some of them find it necessary to leave the old frequented Road, wherein are too many Travellers, and to beat out new Paths for themselves: A Circumstance this, though disagreeable to a Monopolist, yet the most advantageous to National Commerce of any in the World; because almost all new Trades, Improvements, and Inventions, take their Rise from this Cause. — So far therefore may suffice to set forth the Views of the Company in petitioning for the Exclusion. As to the Views of the Court in granting it, these Things will come more fully under our Consideration in the ensuing APPENDIX, to which therefore we refer them.

BUT having traced the Matter thus far; the grand Question returns at present, *viz.* What is to be done with this Company now it is established? For you must know, that the Rights and Privileges of chartered Companies are sacred Things, and must not be violated; though the Monopolists themselves are violating the NATURAL RIGHTS of Mankind every Day, and were incorporated for that very Intent. — Therefore two Proposals will here occur; *viz.* Either the intire Resumption of the Charter, upon a valuable Consideration given by the Public: Or a Permission granted to all others to trade in such Places, which the Company have left unoccupied, and where they have made no Establishments. As to this latter Proposal, it would certainly answer all the Ends of National Commerce as well as the former, if the Country were already peopled, as the *East Indies* are; and if no Colonies were intended to be planted. But seeing the Country lies now in a desolate State, in a manner without Inhabitants; and those few being *Savages* for this plain Reason, *because they are so few*; — and seeing likewise, that this Country is extremely proper for settling a Colony, as shall be presently made to appear; therefore the former Proposal is the only eligible one in the present Case; *viz.* To resume the Charter, giving the Company a valuable Consideration. Now were this Consideration to be given them only in Proportion to their public Merit, or their private Expences in settling the Trade, the Account would be soon made up. For as to their public Merit, I am persuaded every Reader (himself not interested in, or *connected with the Company*) hath adjusted in his Mind already, what ought to be paid them on that

Score:

Score: And in regard to their Expences in settling the Trade, one might really conclude, that a Trade which hath for these thirty or forty Years last past brought in a Profit of at least three hundred *per Cent.* clear of all Deductions whatsoever, hath by this Time pretty well paid for the *original* Expences; so that a Bill of this Nature could not be a *very* large one. But, here the Reader will be told by the Champion for Monopolies, that the Author of these Sheets is a PRATING SCANDALOUS LIAR; and perhaps too he may be told it (as was lately the Case) in such a Place, where the poor Author can make no Reply; — he therefore humbly hopes, that he may without Offence anticipate this Matter, by confessing his Guilt, and shewing, wherein he is a *Liar*: In the first Place then, as the whole annual Exports of the Company do not rise higher than four thousand Pounds, *communibus Annis*; nay, not near so high, when proper Deductions are made for the Provisions and Necessaries which are carried out on the Account, and for the Use of the Company's Servants; — and as their Returns and yearly Sales amount, at a Medium, to thirty five thousand Pounds a Year; the Author humbly conceives, that he cannot be reckoned a *very scandalous Liar* in affirming, that the *Clearings* of the Company are at least three hundred *per Cent.* In the next Place, as to the Dividend upon the Joint-Stock; — *here he confesses his Guilt*: For the Dividend is indeed so far from being three hundred Pounds, that it is nearer three *per Cent.* nay, if this Affair should ever be brought before the Parliament, perhaps it would then be MADE TO APPEAR, that the Dividend was hardly two *per Cent.* — Now this is one of those *Secrets* of Trade, which none but the Adepts should be initiated into. However, since they have fallen into such unhallowed Hands as mine, I will boldly divulge them, and take the Consequences. Know then, that the *original* Joint-Stock of this Company was ten thousand five hundred Pounds Sterling: And when they found, that the Profits of the Trade were immense on such a trifling Capital, they were pleased to *call* that ten, twenty; — and by the same *golden* Rule in Arithmetic they proceeded to *call* that twenty, forty; — and forty, eighty; — and from eighty, according to the last Accounts, it is swelled up now to an hundred and twenty: And how far this Joint-Stock Tumour, or monopolizing Tympany, is yet to extend itself, in order to prove me a *prating scandalous Liar* before the most August Assembly in the World, I cannot pretend to say. But, be that as it may: — If the *nominal* Joint-Stock were one hundred and twenty thousand Pounds, or even double that Sum, it would be the Interest of the *British* Nation to buy it out,
and

and take Possession of the Country: And no Time should be lost; inasmuch as this Country is particularly adapted by Nature for the Reception of a *British* Colony: For

IN the first Place, If a *North-West* Passage is ever to be discovered, the settling of a Colony on the Continent of *Hudson's Bay* is the only Way to do it, and the only Method of appropriating the Use and Benefit of such a Passage to ourselves. Nay, supposing even that there is no Passage (which is not a likely Supposition) yet the Distance between Sea and Sea cannot be great, because the Degrees of Longitude in *Hudson's Bay* in *America*, and the Degrees of Longitude on the *Northern* Coasts of *Asia* have been found by the *English* on one side, and the *Russians* on the other, to approach very near to each other: And perhaps some future Navigators may bring the Discoveries on both Sides much nearer. But even grant the worst, grant, I say, that the Land from Sea to Sea, or from *East* to *West*, is twenty or thirty Degrees of Longitude; now this, in so *high a Latitude* as the upper End of *Hudson's Bay*, cannot be more than four hundred, or at most six hundred Miles: And whoever considers the peculiar Conveniencies of carrying Goods in Northern Climates by means of Sledges in Winter, and navigable Rivers in Summer, will find, that this Distance is of no more Consequence in regard to Trade, than an hundred Miles with us. — Nay, the *Russians* bring all their Hemp from the *Ukraine*, and their Iron from *Siberia* to *Petersburg* at a much less Expence, than Goods are carried from *Bristol* to *London*; though the Distance is ten times as far. Thus therefore, even at the worst, might an easy Communication be opened between the two Seas; and a quick Passage found out for all the *English* Manufactures, particularly for the two chief (I mean the Woollen and Iron Manufactures) into all those immense Countries of *America* and *Asia* hitherto discovered, or undiscovered; and the Returns and Raw Materials of those Countries imported into *Great Britain*. Now if such a Consideration as this is still to be sacrificed to the Schemes and Cabals of an injurious Monopoly, usurping over the *natural Rights* of Mankind, who can we blame but ourselves? And what Pretence can we have to complain for the future of the Want of Trade, and the Burden of the Poor, if we neglect those Things which at any time we have the Power to command in regard to the Company, and the Ability to execute in respect to ourselves? — I say, the *Ability* in respect to ourselves: For

IN the second Place, The Highlanders of *Scotland* have every Qualification you could wish to have in the first Settlers of such a Country.

Their

Their Highland Dress, their Diet, their Dwellings, Genius, Employments, and Diversions, — all bespeak them the fittest People in the World for such an Undertaking. And therefore, though the disloyal Clans of the *Camerons*, *Mac Donalds*, *Mac Phersons*, *Mac Cleans*, *Mac Intoshes*, &c. &c. are very bad Neighbours in the Highlands of *Scotland*, yet they would make very useful Subjects, and be a sufficient Guard of the Frontiers against the Inroachments of the *French*, if four or five independent Companies were raised, and sent into the Southern Parts of *Hudson's Bay*. Nay, in a very little Time these People, as they can already bear equal Hardships and Fatigue, would acquire the same Dexterity in Hunting, and catching Beaver, as the Natives themselves: And moreover, as the respective natural Dispositions, Ways of Living, Countries and Climates, are so similar one to the other, such new Comers would the more easily intermix, and incorporate with the original Inhabitants. A Circumstance always to be desired in establishing Colonies. — In short, for my Part, I can see but one possible Objection to this Proposal; and that is such an one, as none but the Advocates for an exclusive Company would attempt to make; *viz.* That this Proposal favours of Disaffection and Disloyalty, inasmuch as it would be paving the Way to make the Chevalier King of *Hudson's Bay*. — However, while this Country is in the Hands of the Company, it is to be hoped, we have nothing to fear: For doubtless, they will give strict Orders to their *grand Army* of one hundred and twenty Men to make a *brave* Defence; such an one as they made in *Queen Ann's Wars*, when a *French Privateer* of about fifty Men, summoned the best Fort in their vast Territories to surrender at Discretion: — Which the *prudent* Governor immediately did without striking a Stroke.

THIRDLY, Were the magic Spell of an exclusive Company dissolved, a Colony settled, and the Trade laid open, — the *British Nation* is, of all others, the most capable of trading with such a Colony to mutual Advantage, and consequently of promoting a mutual Interest, and beneficial Intercourse. — For in regard to the Colony, there is no Nation in *Europe* that can take off so great a Quantity of Furs, and Peltry, both for their own Consumption, as well as for Exportation, as the Inhabitants of *Great Britain*. Moreover, should any new Sources of Trade be attempted to be opened, should Fisheries be established, Mines of Lead, Tin, Copper, &c. or Quarries of Marble, or indeed should any other Sort of Raw Materials be discovered, where is the Kingdom that could receive such Quantities, and find a Vent for them,

as

as our own can do? Or where is the Nation that hath so great a Number of mercantile Persons, with large Capitals, willing and ready to ingage in such Undertakings? And on the other Hand, with regard to the Manufactures of *Great Britain*, the very Climate and Situation of *Hudson's Bay* would oblige the Inhabitants to purchase the warm, and coarse Woollens, and all kinds of Iron Manufactures, and Household Goods, and almost all the Implements of Husbandry, and Fishing, from the Mother Country. Nay, even *British* Spirituous Liquors, or *West India* Rum, would be less noxious in such a Climate than in any other; and though the Importers of them into *Africa*, and the more Southerly Countries of *America*, are the certain Murderers of the Inhabitants, to the no less Detriment of Trade, than Breach of Morals, and Dishonour of Religion; yet they might import them for the Use of Fishermen at *Hudson's Bay* without doing any Injury at all. In short, the Circumstances both of the Mother Country, and of the Colony proposed would be such, that their respective Interests must always co-incide, and never could clash with each other. — And what could you desire more?

FOURTHLY, The *British* Nation are in great want of such a Country as *Hudson's Bay*, for the Purposes of disposing of their numerous Convicts and Malefactors in a proper Manner. For this Country is so situated by having the *French* Colonies to the South, and the Polar Circle to the North, with the Sea and *Terra de Labrador* to the East, and undiscovered Regions to the West, that it would effectually answer the same Ends to us, which *Siberia* doth to the *Russians*. Besides, the very Idea of Transportation as a Punishment for Crimes points out this Country, preferably to any other. For Convicts ought not to be sent into a populous Country, where their bad Example might corrupt the innocent Natives; nor into a rich, and fertile Country, where they have the same Opportunities, and consequently the same Temptations of returning to their evil Courses, which they had before; neither ought they to be placed in such a Situation, where they may return, almost at Pleasure, to the Mother Country. — Therefore the Method of sending Convicts to those Plantations on the Continent of *America*, that are populous already, rich and flourishing, where they may escape from one Colony to another, or return to *England* at Pleasure, is very wrong, absurd, and impolitic. And indeed most of the Provinces in *North America* are now so sensible of the Evils arising from this Cause, that they have prohibited the Importing of Convicts under very severe Penalties. Nor did they pass these Laws without great Occasion for them;

them; it being a known Fact, that the *Men* Convicts actually carry on at this present Time a kind of regular Exchange of stolen Goods, particularly Horses, by the following Method; *viz.* The Thieves of the Southern and Northern Provinces meet each other half way, and there barter their ill gotten Merchandize, and then return home to dispose of them with Confidence and Impunity. And as to the *Women* Convicts, there is no need to be very descriptive in setting forth the numberless bad Consequences that must result from such experienced Tutrices, and diseased Tempters.—Now *Hudson's Bay* being a cold, barren, uninhabited Country, of an immense Extent, and yet shut up on all Sides, hath every Qualification that is requisite for making Transportation a real Punishment: And moreover, as all Temptations towards their former Crimes are effectually removed; and as there can be no living or subsisting without Industry and Labour, the Persons sent thither would have the best Chance in the World of reforming, and becoming Good,—the true End of Punishment; and, I will add, the true Interest of every State to promote. I ask therefore, would it not be the most useful Step that could be taken in our Circumstances, to destroy this Monopoly immediately, and erect a Colony? Nay more, would it not be expedient to enact a Law, changing the Punishment of Whipping and hard Labour into Transportation? For it is evident to all the World, that our Jails and Bridewells are no Schools of Reformation: Nay, it is certain, that for one Person, *Male* or *Female*, whose Morals are bettered by such a Punishment, thousands are hardened and corrupted. In short, were Death to be inflicted only in Cases of *Murder*, or *High-Treason*, and all other Crimes to be punished with Transportation to this *English Siberia* for a longer, or a shorter Time, according to the Nature of the Offence, we should approach nearer to the Rules of Equity, we should temper Mercy and Justice properly together, we should clear our Streets of bad Subjects, nay, of the Pests of Mankind, while they remained here at home; and yet by means of this single Polity, make them good, useful, and virtuous, by sending them abroad.—And *Hudson's Bay* is of that prodigious Extent, that if ten thousand were transported every Year for an hundred Years to come, the Country could in no Degree be deemed *populous*: So that the former Objection against sending them to our other Plantations, can with no Colour of Truth, or Reason, be retorted here.

BUT if this Objection cannot be made, I am very sensible, that the Advocates for the present Monopoly will strive hard to muster up others: And therefore the great Pretence will be, *The Expence!* The

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Expence! — To which a very sufficient Answer might be returned, by asking a plain Question, *viz.* Who pays the Expence now? Who paid for building the Forts, if they may be called Forts? And who pays for the exorbitant Profits arising from the Shares, or Dividends, to the Proprietors, and the Jobbs to the Managers, and the Salaries to the respective Governors, Officers, and Men? — Who indeed, but the PUBLIC: The Public, I say, literally and truly pays all at present; with this cruel Circumstance, that the Tax is a thousand Times more heavy and oppressive, than if it had been judiciously laid on, and regularly collected by the Officers of the Revenue. And, Reader, as a Proof of what I am now saying, give me Leave just to lay before you a Specimen, or Sample of this Tax, taken from the Company's own Accounts, — *viz.* Their Standard of Trade at *Hudson's Bay*. Now as Gold and Silver are never used in that Country, they all proceed by Barter, *fixed by Order of the Company*: And therefore you have nothing more to do, than to examine how much this Barter is set *higher*, than it would have been in a *free and open* Trade, in order to find out the *Company's Tax*; For  all the *Exceedings*, are in Fact, a Tax laid, and levied on the Manufactures of their Fellow-Subjects exported, and on Raw Materials imported, by their own supreme Authority. Now as Beaver is the principal Article in the Trade, this is made the Standard whereby to value every Thing else; and moreover, as the Company sell this Beaver, at a Medium, after the Rate of Nine Shillings each; therefore by turning the Quantity of Beaver into the Valuation of *English Money*, we shall see with a single Cast of the Eye, the whole Mystery of this dark Affair.

Prices of the Linen and Woollen Manufactures, as fixed by the Company at *Hudson's Bay*.

	£.	s.	d.
Duffles, 1 Yard - - as 2 Beavers	0	18	0
Flannel, 1 Yard - - as 1½ Beavers	0	13	6
Gartering, 1½ Yard - - as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Thread, 1 Pound - - as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Shirts, 1 - - - - as 2 Beavers	0	18	0
Stockings, 1 Pair - - as 2 Beavers	0	18	0
Twine, 1 Scain - - as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Lace, broad orris 1½ Yd as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Worsted Binding, 1½ Yd as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Gloves, Yarn 1 Pair - as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Blankets, 1 Yard - as 7 Beavers	3	3	0

Prices of the Iron and Metal, and other Manufactures, as fixed by the Company at *Hudson's Bay*.

	£.	s.	d.
Brass Coat Buttons, 4 Doz. as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Ditto Waistcoat, 6 Doz. as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Awl Blades, 8 - - as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Bayonets, 1 - - - as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Fish-Hooks, 14 - - as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Guns, 1 - - - as 14 Beavers	6	6	0
Pistols, 1 - - - as 7 Beavers	3	3	0
Needles, 12 - - - as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
English Brandy, 1 Gall. as 4 Beavers	1	16	0
Feathers, Red, 2 - - as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Tobacco Boxes, 1 - - as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Flints, 16 - - - as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Vermillion, 1 Pound as 16 Beavers	7	14	0

AND

AND now, my good Reader, what think you of such a Tax as this! Coarse Blanketing at Three Guineas *per* Yard! Woollen Gloves at Nine Shillings *per* Pair! Common Guns at Six Guineas each! Sixteen Flints for Nine Shillings! *English* Spirits at One Pound Sixteen Shillings *per* Gallon! And a Pound of Vermillion sold at Seven Pounds Fourteen Shillings! Astonishing, and Prodigious! — But yet this melancholy Affair (for surely such it is) may afford us one useful Lesson of Instruction: And that is, that the Variety and Inequality of the Prices of these Things, is a Proof that the Company fixed their Valuations according to the Demand, which either the *Necessity*, *Luxury*, or *Vanity* of the *Indians*, made upon them. For Example, A Yard of warm Blanketing, or a Pair of Woollen Gloves, a Gun, Pistol, or Flint to strike Fire, were in some respects, Articles of Necessity; and therefore the respective Prices are set high: — A Gallon of Spirituous Liquors is a Matter of Luxury, and therefore the Price of that was high also: But it seems, that the Vanity of Dress is the ruling Passion of these poor People, for their Eagerness after a red Feather, and red Paint, scarce knew any Bounds; and therefore the *honest* Company took the Advantage of their Foible, and made them pay accordingly. And I am much afraid, that what is thus discovered to be the Case in relation to the Savages of *Hudson's Bay*, will be found to be very similar to the Practice of the good Christians, and polite Inhabitants of *Great Britain*. However, by this single Circumstance, the Company have intirely confuted their own Arguments concerning the Laziness, the Indifference, and Inactivity of this People; nay, they themselves have shewn that they do not want a Spirit of Ambition, or Emulation. And therefore, if we could touch their Self-Love in a proper Manner, we should soon make them as industrious as other People; that is, they would become as willing to labour as ourselves (for the *Britains* were once such Savages) and to exchange the Produce of that Labour for the Produce, or Manufactures of other Countries: — And surely this is Commerce; or there is no such Thing in the World. — As to the Article of Expence, I humbly hope, that from what hath been set forth, no farther Difficulty can be alledged on that Head. However, if any Doubt should still remain, let it be considered, that if the Public shall get an additional Revenue of at least forty thousand Pounds a Year, by the Rise of the Customs on the greater Quantities of Goods imported, and by the Rise of the Excise, and all Inland Duties on Account of the greater Number of Manufacturers, and all Sorts of Persons being employed (not to mention the Nursery for so many thousands of Seamen)

I say, if this is the Case, as it infallibly will be, surely we may afford to pay eight or ten thousand Pounds a Year out of this Sum, without any Loss, or Burden. — Indeed, that Person must be a very sorry Calculator, who cannot discover, that the Increase of Manufactures, Trade, and Shipping, will necessarily be attended with a proportionable Increase in every Branch of the Revenue. — There is but one Thing more I have to add on this Subject, and I have done: And that is, that the Company, not content with the gainful Practice of *conscientious* Traders, who do as they would be done by, act likewise in the Capacity of *Quacks* and *Conjurers* *, selling the People *Nostums* to cure all Diseases, and *Charms* to make them successful in their Wars, or Hunting. And in honest Truth, if after what has been said, this Company shall still be suffered to trample upon our *natural* Rights and Liberties; and if the Subjects of this Kingdom will not make it a common Cause, to free themselves from this galling Chain, we must conclude, that the wise Inhabitants of *Great Britain* are as much the Dupes of the *Doctor*, and the *Cunning Man*, as the poor, illiterate Savages of *Hudson's Bay*.

III. WE have yet to direct our Attack against another great Monopoly, and indeed the most unweildy Monster of them all: — The Reader need not be told, that this is the EAST INDIA COMPANY. But as for the Attack itself, the Work is already done to our Hands by an Act of the whole Legislature, past the third Year of his present Majesty; and we have nothing more now to do, than to pursue and execute the judicious Plan there laid down. The Purport of which Act of Parliament, as far as relates to the present Subject, is as follows; That after three Years Notice given by Parliament to the Company, and upon paying off the Principal and Interest of 3,200,000*l.* Sterling, which the Public have borrowed of the Company, “ Then, and from thenceforth, “ the Right, Title, and Interest of the said Company to the whole, “ sole, and exclusive Trade to the *East Indies*, &c. shall cease and determine. But after the Determination of that Company's Right to “ the sole, and exclusive Trade to and from the *East Indies*, the Corporation [for the Company is still to remain a corporate Body, if they “ please] with all, or any of their Joint-Stock, Goods, Estates, &c.

“ may

* See a Pamphlet, intituled, *A short State of the Countries and Trade of North America claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company*, Printed for J. Robinson, Page 16. The whole Pamphlet highly deserves the Regard and Attention of the Friends of Liberty and Mankind.

" may trade in common with other Subjects of His Majesty trading to, and from those Parts." See *The great Collection of Voyages*, Vol. I. Page 915.

Now, if we really intend to put in Execution this excellent Law, what have we more to do, than to give the Public Notice, and pay off the Debt? The Debt may be discharged when Peace is established, in much less Time than three Years, by means of the Sinking Fund. And surely this Debt, of all others, ought to be discharged the first: Nay, were even the destroying of the Monopoly, and the Advancement of national Commerce out of the Question, the very Behaviour of the Company in a late trying Affair, when the Reduction of Interest was upon the Carpet, is sufficient to determine this Point. For if ever there was an Instance of the blackest Ingratitude, and the most dangerous Combination against a just, and unblemished Government, this was one: Vices the more unpardonable in the present Case, as the Government had just been protecting their Forts and Settlements in *India* at a most immense Expence; and as the Company themselves had set the Example by reducing the Interest of their own Bonds to three *per Cent.* and yet they refused three and a half, and had the Conscience to demand four of the Government. No Thanks therefore to the *East India* Company, that this laudable Scheme for the Reduction of Interest hath so happily succeeded; for they opposed it with all their Might, and endeavoured to raise a senseless, popular Cry against it. But the Thanks are due, and ought to be paid to the Memory of that *honest Minister* lately deceased, and to his Fellow-Helpers still living; who so bravely and firmly broke the Neck of these Combinations, and gave a noble Specimen of the great Good that may be done by Men of good Hearts in a good Cause.

IV. LASTLY, As to the *South Sea* Company, this Monopoly is such an undefinable, unshapen, nameless Thing, that little can be said about it. For it hath not the least Sign of a Trading Company belonging to it, and yet hath a Grant to prevent all others from trading. It fits out no Ships, deals in no sort of Merchandize, neither buys nor sells any thing but Stocks, neither exports nor imports: — But nevertheless, if you were to send a Ship any where within the Reach of its extensive Patent, you would presently find, that it so far possesses the true Spirit of an exclusive Company, as to act like the Dog in the Manger, and hinder others from reaping any Benefit from that Trade, which it doth not enjoy itself. However, as no present Design is formed for carrying on any

any Commerce with the * *Spicy Countries* within its Grant, *viz.* *New Guinea, New Holland, &c.* and as it will be necessary whenever this is attempted, that the State should either settle a Colony, or nurse up the Trade at first by means of Bounties to rival Adventurers (which are the only *national Ways* of opening new Sources of Commerce) we may defer this Subject at present, and resume it again when we come to the third Section, to treat more expressly of the Nature of Commercial Colonies, the Reasons of their Institution, the Rules for settling them, and the Regulations they should be under in relation to the Mother Country.

AND now, to put an End to this tedious, and toilsome Affair, let us conclude all with this general Remark, *viz.* That every Rank and Condition of Men throughout the Kingdom, the Monopolists excepted, would find their Advantage by concurring and uniting together to break loose from these Chains of *Egyptian Bondage*.

THE Government and Administration, which, God be praised, no longer proceeds upon the old Maxims of Tyranny and Prerogative, but considers itself as the *equal Protector of, and equally related to* all its Subjects, would soon find the Effects of its Paternal Care in the growing Industry of the People. The Wheels of Government would go smoothly on; because the great Subject of repining would be taken away: And it would be neither the Interest, nor Inclination of the great Body of the People to complain of an open Trade, or to wish for any Change in their Commercial System. Therefore, as by this single Polity, Wealth would flow in from every Quarter, the People would be employed in more useful Matters than to criticize on the Conduct or Management of their Superiors. Moreover, the Amount of Taxes would be every Day increasing, because the Numbers of the People would increase, and their Abilities to consume taxable Commodities would increase likewise: Consequently the Produce of the Sinking Fund would rise; the National Debt would lessen, and Money, when wanted, might be borrowed at almost any Interest. Moreover, as to external Affairs, the more powerful we are, the more we should be respected: And the less we aimed at Conquests, the more desirous would every People be to traffic with us.—Indeed all Nations would covet our Manufactures, because we could sell them the best, and on the cheapest Lay; and they would send us either the valuable Returns of raw Materials, or such other Commodities as would swell the Amount of our yearly

* See *The great Collection of Voyages*, Vol. I. Chap. I. Sect. IX. and X. Pages 62, 63, 64, and 65. See also Sect. XXII. Pages 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, and 335.

yearly Revenue by the Customs, Duties, and Taxes put upon them. In short, every Port would then have its Share of Commerce, and be industrious to rival, and exceed its Neighbour; and therefore every Port would augment the Riches, Strength, and Glory of the Kingdom, by its additional Contribution towards the Revenue, and its additional number of Ships, and Sailors. Thus therefore would the Interest of the Government be promoted by every Method which advances the Interest of the Individuals.

AND as to the *Patriot*, he surely would have Reason to rejoice at this Restoration of our *natural* Rights and Liberties. For when our Trade is once set free, we shall be intirely and completely free; having no other Thralldom to complain of: For all the Remains of our former Vassalage and Slavery in other Instances are already abolished. Indeed this Affair of Monopolies and Exclusions, is the *last Prerogative Tax* now remaining; and when that is demolished, the Patriot will find, by happy Experience, that these Prerogative Taxes, though the least attended to, were the heaviest and most oppressive of any.

MOREOVER, in regard to the *Country Gentleman*, as it is his immediate Interest to raise the Value of his Lands, to get good Tenants for his Farm, a ready Market for the Consumption, and to be eased from the Burden of a numerous Poor, he must regard these Monopolies, as so many Combinations particularly levelled against the *Landed Interest*: And therefore he should be the more active and indefatigable in abolishing them.

As to the whole Body of Merchants, Manufacturers, and other Classes of People, what can be more obvious, than that these Monopolies were intended to impoverish all besides, and to eat like a Canker into their Gains and Industry? For they were established with the very Intent of being detrimental to the *many*, in order to be exorbitantly profitable to the *few*. The Question therefore is no more than this, Whether the *few* or the *many* shall get the better in this Struggle; a Struggle in which the one Side are contending for their natural Rights and Liberties, and the other for the Continuance of an unjust and odious Usurpation. And as to the well-timing of an Application to Parliament, any Sessions may serve for that Purpose; Perhaps the sixth or seventh as well as any other; — indeed rather better. For the Case of foreign Monopolies is not the same with that of domestic ones; — I mean as to the *Popularity* of them. And the Reason is, because the Numbers engaged in them, comparatively speaking, can be but few: And therefore it becomes a popular Topic to declaim against them. — For, in Fact, every Man is desirous, that all Monopolies should be abolished but his own: — Than which, I think, there cannot be a stronger Proof, *That they are all bad*.

*An APPENDIX to the First and Second Sections
of the Chapter on Manufactures.*

HAVING laid down a Position, or Maxim, at the Beginning of the First Section, That all Trades and Branches of Commerce ought to be FREE, those only excepted, which administer Temptations to Vice, or are preventive of National Industry;—and having asserted both in the First and Second Sections, That the enslaving of Commerce by exclusive Patents, and monopolizing Corporations, is a Remnant of that antient despotic Power, and Gothic Barbarity, under which this Kingdom long groaned; I think it very proper, in a Matter of such vast Importance, to make good my Assertions by the most undoubted Authorities; by which Means the Reader will be able to form the truer Judgment on the Merits of this Cause. And if he shall be able to discover the real Motives of those Princes, who granted these Patents from time to time;—and the precise Views of the Grantees in so earnestly petitioning for, and eagerly defending them, he will be at no Loss in determining, whether these Things were ever established with a good Intent, and particularly whether they ought to have continued so long as to the present Times. And tho' many Authorities might be brought, yet I shall content myself with two only, as being altogether unexceptionable, full, and decisive.

THE first Instance which I shall here produce, is that which occurred during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; when the Dawnings of Commerce began to break forth, and People's Eyes were opened a little, to see the Advantages that would have resulted from a free, and uninterrupted Trade *at home*.

THE second wholly concerns such Charters and Exclusions as relate to *Foreign Trade*.—And by comparing both together the Reader will find, that though our Forefathers were forced to kiss the Rod, they thought it neither an Honour, nor Advantage, so to do; and would have been glad to have enjoyed a greater Degree of Liberty, but did not dare to appear openly in its Defence.

I. IN the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, there were several Struggles to shake off some of the most galling Links of that slavish Chain, in which the

the People were held in regard to Commerce: Particularly the Struggles in the forty third Year of her Reign deserves an especial Regard: Because the Debates in Parliament then ran the highest about Monopolies and Exclusions; as may be seen in *Townshend's Historical Collections*, himself a Member of, and a Speaker in that very Parliament: Note, The same Collections are likewise transcribed, with some Abridgments, into Sir *Simon D'ewes's Journal of the House of Commons*, see Page 644—660. But tho' the Members widely differed, whether they should proceed against these Monopolies by Way of Bill, or Petition to the Queen; yet they all agreed, that in regard to Commercial Matters, an Act of Parliament itself was no Fence against the Prerogative. Such was the miserable and slavish Condition of *Old England*! Such the *golden Days* of good *Queen Bess*, so much envied and preferred to modern Times! Mr *Francis* [afterward Sir *Francis*] *Bacon* said, (Page 231) "The Queen, as she is our Sovereign, hath both an enlarging and restraining Liberty of her Prerogative: That is, she hath Power, by her Patents, to set at Liberty Things restrained by Statute Law, or otherwise; [*i. e.* Common Law] and by her Prerogative she may restrain Things that are at Liberty. — If Her Majesty makes a Patent, or Monopoly to any of her *Servants*, That we must go, and cry out against: But if she grants it to a Number of Burgessees, or Corporation, that must stand; and, forsooth, is no Monopoly."

Mr *Francis Moor* [Member for *Reading*] said, Page 233, "Mr Speaker, I know the Queen's Prerogative is a Thing curious to be dealt withal; yet all Grievances are not comparable. I cannot utter with my Tongue, or conceive with my Heart, the great Grievances that the Town and Country for which I serve, suffer by some of these Monopolies: It bringeth the general Profit into a private Hand; and the End of all is Beggary and Bondage to the Subject. — But to what Purpose is it, to do any thing by Act of Parliament, when the Queen will undo the same by her Prerogative? Out of the Spirit of Humility, Mr Speaker, I do speak it: There is no Act of hers that hath been, or is more derogatory to her own Majesty, or more odious to the Subject, or more dangerous to the Commonwealth, than the Granting of these Monopolies."

Mr *Martin* [Member for *Barnstable*] said, Page 234, "I speak for a Town that grieves and pines, and for a Country that groaneth under the Burden of monstrous and unconscionable *Substitutes* to the Monopolitans of Starch, Tynn, Fish, Cloth, Oil, Vinegar, Salt, and I know not what; nay, what not. The principal Commodities of

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“ my Town and Country are ingrossed into the Hands of these Blood-
 “ Suckers of the Commonwealth. — The [foreign] Traffic is taken
 “ away by Wars; the inward and private Commodities dare not be
 “ used without Licence of these Monopolitans. If these Blood-Suckers
 “ be still let alone, to suck up the best and principallest Commodities,
 “ which the Earth hath given us, what shall become of us? — The
 “ Fruits of our own Soil, and the Commodities of our own Labour,
 “ which with the Sweat of our Brows (even up to the Knees in Mire
 “ and Dirt) we have laboured for, shall be taken from us by Warrant
 “ of supreme Authority, which the poor Subject dares not gainsay!”

SIR *George Moor* [Member for *Surry*] spoke next, and said, “ We
 “ know the Power of her Majesty cannot be restrained by any Act.
 “ Why therefore should we thus talk? Admit that we should make
 “ the Statute with a *Non-obstante*; yet the Queen may grant a Patent
 “ with a *Non-obstante*, to cross this *Non-obstante*. I think therefore,
 “ that it agreeth more with the Wisdom and Gravity of this House, to
 “ proceed with all *Humbleness*, rather by Petition, than Bill.”

MR *Wingsfield* [Member for *Stanford*] replied to this, as follows, “ I
 “ would but put the House in mind of the Proceedings we had in this
 “ Matter the last Parliament: [which Parliament was held four Years
 before: For *note*, The Custom of holding *annual* Parliaments did not
 take Place till the happy Revolution] “ In the End whereof our Speaker
 “ moved her Majesty by way of *Petition*, that the Grievs touching these
 “ Monopolies might be respected, and the Grievance redressed. Her
 “ Majesty answered by the Lord Keeper: That she would take Care
 “ of these Monopolies; and our Grievs should be redressed: If not, she
 “ would give us free Liberty to proceed in making a Law the next Par-
 “ liament. The Wound, Mr Speaker, is still bleeding; and we grieve
 “ under the Sore, and are without Remedy.”

MR *Fleming*, the Solicitor General [Member for *Southampton*] said,
 Page 238, “ That her Majesty in her provident Care had given Charge
 “ to Mr Attorney General and his self, that speedy and special Course
 “ may be taken with these Patents. This was the Beginning of Hil-
 “ lary Term last. — Since that nothing could be done therein for want
 “ of Leisure.”

SIR *Robert Wroth* [Member for *Middlesex*] replied, “ I would but
 “ note, Mr Solicitor, that you were charged to take Care in Hillary
 “ Term last. Why not before? There was Time enough ever since
 “ the last Parliament [four Years ago] I speak it, and I speak it boldly,
 “ these Patentees are worse than ever they were. And I have heard a
 “ Gentleman

" Gentleman affirm in this House, *That there is a Clause of Reversion*
" *in the Patents.* If so, what needed this stir by *Quo Warranto*, and
" I know not what? when it is but to send for the Patents, and cause
" a Re-delivery. There have been divers Patents granted *since the last*
" *Parliament*; these are now in being, *viz.* The Patents for Currants,
" Iron, Powder, Cards, Horns, Ox Shin-bones, Train Oil, Lifts of
" Cloth, Ashes, Bottles, Glasses, Bags, Shreds of Gloves, Aniseed, Vine-
" gar, Sea-Coals, Steel, Aqua-Vitæ, Brushes, Pots, Salt, Salt-Petre,
" Lead, Accedence, Transportation of Leather, Calamint Stone, Train
" Oil of Blubber, Fumathoes, or dried Piltchers, and many others."

UPON reading of the Patents aforesaid, Mr *Hackwell* of *Lincolns-*
Inn [Member for *Bossenny*] stood up, and asked this, " Is not Bread
" there? Bread! quoth one; Bread! quoth another: This Voice seems
" strange, quoth a third: No, quoth Mr *Hackwell*, but if Order be not
" taken for these, Bread will be there before the next Parliament."

BUT notwithstanding these Grievances were so numerous, and almost
too great a Burden even for a *Turkish* Vassal to submit to, Mr *Spicer*
[Member for *Warwick*] said upon the second Reading, Page 241, " I think
" it were good this Bill were committed. I am no Apostate, but stick
" to my former Faith; and upon that asserted, that by way of *Petition*
" will be our safest Course. For it is to no Purpose, to offer to tie her
" Majesty's Hands by way of Act of Parliament, *when she may loose*
" *herself at Pleasure.*"

MR *Davies* [Member for *Corf-Castle, Dorsetshire*] spoke next, and
said, " God hath given Power to ABSOLUTE Princes, which he attri-
" buteth to himself; *Dixi quod Dii estis:* And, as Attributes unto
" them, he hath given them *Majesty, Justice, and Mercy.* *Majesty,*
" in respect of the Honour that the Subject sheweth unto his Prince;
" *Justice,* in respect he can do no wrong; and *Mercy,* in respect he
" giveth Leave to his Subjects, to right themselves by Law: And
" therefore, in the forty fourth Assize an Indictment was brought
" against Bakers, and Brewers: For that by Colour of Licence they
" had broken the Assize: Wherefore, according to that Precedent, I
" think it most fit to proceed by Bill, and not by Petition."

THE Reply made to this Speech was so very extraordinary, that I
am persuaded, the Reader will not pass it over without taking some
Notice of it: And the Comparison, that will result from thence, be-
tween *Old England*, and *Modern England*, may have its Uses in many
Respects. The Reply was made by no less a Person than Sir *Robert*
Cecil, Principal Secretary of State, and in these Words,—" I am a

“ Servant to the Queen: And before I would speak, or give my Con-
 “ sent to a Case that should debase her Prerogative, or abridge it, I
 “ would wish my Tongue cut out of my Head. — One Gentleman
 “ went about to possess us with the Execution of the Law, in an an-
 “ tient Record of the fiftieth of *Edwardi III.* Likely enough to be
 “ true at that time, when the King was afraid of the Subject. — If you
 “ stand upon Law, and dispute of the Prerogative, hark what *Bracton*
 “ saith, *Prærogativam nostram nemo audeat disputare.* For my own
 “ Part, I like not these Courses should be taken. — And you, Mr
 “ Speaker, should perform the Charge her Majesty gave unto you at
 “ the Beginning of this Parliament, not to receive Bills of this Na-
 “ ture.” —

THIS Speech seems to have thunder-struck the House: — How-
 ever, after having a little recovered from the Fright, Mr *Mountague*
 [Member either for *Brackley* in *Northamptonshire*, or *Malmsbury* in
Wiltshire, for there were two Members of the Name] had the Courage
 to say, “ Mr Speaker, I am loth to speak what I know, lest perhaps I
 “ should displease. The Prerogative Royal is that which is now in
 “ Question, and which the Laws of the Land have ever allowed and
 “ maintained. My Motion then shall be but this, That we may be
 “ Suitors unto her Majesty, that the Patentees shall have no other Re-
 “ medy, than by the Laws of the Realm they may have; and that
 “ our Act be drawn accordingly.” This Motion was seconded by
 Mr *Martin*, and greatly approved of by the House; so that the Affair
 was settled according to this Plan.

MR *Townshend*, at Page 243, then proceeds to give a List or Cata-
 logue of the several Monopolies then in being; which, as they are much
 the same with what have been mentioned before, excepting some ad-
 ditional ones, I shall not now repeat. Only, I think, it may be pro-
 per to take Notice, that most of them were granted to *Members of*
Parliament, or their *near Relations*, with Clauses of Revocation at
 Pleasure: And that the Patents themselves were of five Kinds, 1st, Such
 as were granted in order to countenance, and support an open Viola-
 tion of the known Laws of the Land; of which number we are to
 reckon that granted to Mr *Cornwallis* to hold *unlawful Games*; like-
 wise the Patent to Sir *Edward Dier*, to pardon, dispense, and release
 all Forfeitures, and Abuses committed by Tanners contrary to the Sta-
 tute; and several others of the same Stamp. For when the Parliament
 enacted a *penal Law*, it was frequently the Practice of the Crown to
 grant a Patent of Dispensation, like the Popes of *Rome*, in order to
 raise

raise Money upon the Subject by selling *Pardons*, and *Indulgences*. —
2dly, Another sort of Patents, and Exclusions, were those which were
calculated to check the internal Trade, and Industry of the Kingdom;
such were the Patents for Printing School-Books, &c. and making Salt,
Steel, Brushes, Paper, Glafs, Pottery Wares, Starch, &c. also the Pa-
tent for Salt-Petre, and the Licence for sowing Woade. As to that re-
lating to Salt-Petre, it was of a Nature so extraordinary, that something
farther ought to be said about it. For it not only gave an exclusive
Grant to the Patentees to make Gunpowder, but also impowered them
to enter forceably into any Man's House, and dig up his Floors, and
Cellars, and do what Mischief they pleased, in search of Salt-Petre.
Therefore these unwelcome Guests were sure to pay every Man a Visit,
who did not buy his Peace and Safety by means of pecuniary Contri-
butions. And it was upon this Account, that Sir *George Moore*, part
of whose Speech hath been quoted before, Page 138, made a Sort of
Pun upon the Word; viz. "Many Grievances have been laid open
"touching the Monopoly of *Salt*; but if you had added thereunto
"*Peter*, then you had hit the Grief aright with which my Country
"is perplexed." And Secretary *Cecil* says himself, Page 251, That
the Patent for Salt-Petre "digs in every Man's House, removes the
"Inhabitant, and generally troubleth the Subject." And *note*, This is
the very Monopoly that was afterwards revived with so much Rigour
and Cruelty in the Reign of *Charles I.* and caused such universal Mur-
murings. As to the Sowing of *Woade*, the Pretence for restraining
the natural Liberty of the Subject in this particular, was really curious,
viz. "That the Queen in her Progresses was offended with the Smell
"of it." See Secretary *Cecil's* Speech, Page 250. I suppose, when
she granted two Licences, one to *William Aber*, and another to *Valen-
tine Harris*, to Sow six hundred Acres each, that *Woade* had a better
Smell. 3dly, Another Set of Monopolies, were those which clogged
and discouraged the Exportation of our own Manufactures: As, for
Example, the exclusive Patent for exporting Iron Ordnance, Iron, and
Tin; also the Patent for brewing Beer for Transportation, another to
transport Lifts, and Shreds, and another for exporting six thousand
Calf Skins. 4thly, There were Monopolies also to confine the Im-
portation of Raw Materials, lest the Subject should have too much
Imployment; viz. A Monopoly for importing *Spanish* Wool, another
for importing Steel, a third for Oil of Blubber, and a fourth for *Irish*
Yarn, &c. &c. 5thly, Besides these Exclusions granted to single Per-
sons, there were several others granted to Numbers, whereby they were incor-

incorporated : — And indeed you will find, upon Inquiry, that a great many of the Companies of Trades now subsisting, were of her creating ; — But waving all domestic Matters, let us now confine ourselves to Foreign Trade ; For in the first Place, we find in this very Catalogue of Monopolies, *A Patent for certain Merchants to traffic*. As to the Country to, and from which this Trade was to be carried on, this is not specified ; but it seems to be either some Renewal of the Grant made to the *Muscovia* Company : — Or the Confirmation of the exclusive Charter of Merchant Adventurers, — or some new Monopoly for carrying on a Trade to *Barbary*. For all these Exclusions were granted much about the same Time, viz. in the Years 1584, 1585, or 1586. Now if it was a Renewal, or some Extension of Privileges of the *Muscovia* Company, her Conduct was still the more extraordinary, in regard to this Affair, because the Emperor *Theodore Joannides* had particularly expostulated with her on that Head *, “ desiring her to grant
“ Liberty to all the *English* to trade into *Russia*. For to permit some,
“ says he, and to deny others, is Injustice : And Princes must carry an
“ indifferent Hand betwixt their Subjects, and not convert Trade
“ (*which by the Law of Nations ought to be common to all*) into a Mo-
“ nopoly, to the private Gain of a few.” These were the Sentiments of a Prince, whom the *English* then supposed a Barbarian, and almost a Savage. — But if the Grant here in Question was a Confirmation of the Charters of Merchants Adventurers, the Discussion of that Affair will come before the Reader in the second Part of this APPENDIX ; where he will find, that the same hackney Apologies, and thread-bare Cant were used in support of Monopolies one hundred and fifty Years ago, as are used at present. — Moreover, if this Patent to Merchants to traffic was the *Barbary* Patent above mentioned, it may not be amiss to recite the curious Reasons for granting it, as given by the Reverend Mr *Smith* in his *Memoirs of Wool*, Vol. I. Page 115, from Mr *Camden*, viz. “ *Anno*
“ *Dom.* 1585. For the more advantageous and GAINFUL VENDING
“ of *English* Cloths, Licence was granted to *Ambrose* Earl of *Warwick*,
“ and his Brother the Earl of *Leicester*, *Thomas Starky*, *Gerard Gore*,
“ and divers others, Merchants of *London*, for the Term of two Years,
“ to trade with the Moors in the Eastern Parts of *Barbary*, to make
“ good the Losses they had sustained in *Africa* : And all other Mer-
“ chants were prohibited to Trade upon those Coasts.” — In order that these Monopolists might have the MORE GAINFUL Vending of *English* Cloths ; that is, in plain *English*, That they might enrich themselves at the Expence of their Country : An infallible Method of making Trade to flourish !

BUT

* *Memoirs of Wool*, Vol. I. Chap. XXIV. Page 114.

BUT alas! these Blood-suckers were not the only ones authorised by this Princess; for in the Year 1600, the very Year before this Parliament met, she fortified by her Letters Patents, two other destructive and devouring Monopolies, viz. That trading to the *East Indies*, and the other to the *Levant Seas*, the Seignory of *Venice*, and the Republic of *Ragusa*; and for this latter she stipulated to have an yearly Consideration paid her of four thousand Pounds. Note, This Grant to the *Turkey Company*, was only the Renewal of a former one made about nine Years before. For her Custom was, to insert Clauses of Revocation in the domestic Patents, and to grant the foreign ones but for a short Space of Time; or at least to find out Pretences for *revising* them, in order to keep the Monopolitans, and their Agents, in a *continual Dependence* upon herself. However, it seems, this politic and crafty Princess now began to think, that she had stretched the String too far; and therefore concluded that the more prudent Step at such a Juncture, when *the Subsidies were likewise depending*, was to make a decent Retreat, with a good Grace: Which surely she did to Wonder, and Admiration! For, after having endeavoured to prevent the Affair from ever coming upon the Tapis, as appears by her Orders to the Speaker of the House of Commons: And after having opposed it with all her Might by her Privy-Counsellors, Place-men, and *Pensioned Monopolists*; she still found that the Storm was rising, and the Clamours growing louder. For indeed the Yoke was now grown quite intolerable, so that even the most passive Minds were worked up into a Sensibility of these continued, repeated, and increasing Evils. Nay, it is observable from all History, that there is a Point, beyond which even the most despotic Power cannot proceed. Therefore she artfully changed her Note, and appeared as ready to revoke these Monopolies, as her Subjects could be to remonstrate against them. For at Page 248, we find, "That the Speaker, after a Silence (and every one marvelling why the Speaker stood up) spake to this Effect:

"It pleased her Majesty to command me to attend upon her Yesterday in the Afternoon: From whom I am to deliver unto you all, her Majesty's most gracious Message sent by my unworthy self. She yieldeth you all hearty Thanks for your Care, and special Regard of those Things which concern her State, and Kingdom, and consequently ourselves; whose Good she hath always tendred as her own: For our speedy Resolution in making so *hasty, and free a Subsidy*; which commonly succeeded, and never went before our Counsels. — For our Loyalty I will assure you, with such, and so great Zeal of Affection she uttered, and shewed the same, that to express it with
"our

" our Tongues we are not able, neither our Hearts to conceive it. It
 " pleased her Majesty to say unto me, That if she had an hundred
 " Tongues, she could not express our hearty good Wills: And farther
 " she said, That as she had ever held our Good most dear, so the last
 " Day of ours, or her Life should witness it. And that if the least of
 " her Subjects were grieved, and herself not touched, she appealed to
 " the Throne of Almighty God, how careful she had been, and will
 " be to defend her People from all Oppression. ~~But~~ She said, That
 " partly by Intimation of her Council, and partly by divers Petitions
 " that had been delivered unto her both going to Chapel, and also
 " walking abroad, she understood, That divers Patents, that she had
 " granted were grievous unto her Subjects, and that the Substitutes of
 " of the Patentees had used great Oppression. But, she said, she never
 " assented to grant any Thing that was *Malum in se*. And if in the
 " Abuse of her Grant there be any Thing that is Evil, which she took
 " Knowledge there was, she herself would take present Order for Re-
 " formation thereof. I cannot express unto you the apparent Indigna-
 " tion of her Majesty towards these Abuses."

HERE the good Mr Speaker used a very proper Word in describing
 this Affair, without intending it; *viz. apparent Indignation*: For surely
 her Indignation was only *apparent*; and her *real* Displeasure was not
 against the Monopolitans, but against the Advocates for a free Trade;
 as they would have found to their Cost, under some Pretence or other,
 had she lived any Length of Time after this Affair. And as to her
 saying, That she never made any Grants that were *mala in se*; It is
 hard to define, What Salvo could be intended by this Excuse. For
 certain it is, That she granted Patents for holding *unlawful* Games,
 and for dispensing *with*, or rather compounding *for*, the Breach of a
 great Number of Penal Statutes. And one would think, That if such
 Patents were not absolutely *evil in themselves*, they approached so near
 to Evil, that the Distance was not very great or material. However,
 let the Grants be what they will in themselves, we have the Authority
 of her own Secretary *Cecil* for asserting, that they were all evil in their
 Application. For, as it was now no Time to dissemble, or deny, the
 Abuse of these Things, he seems to make a Merit of inveighing against
 them, and frankly acknowledges, Page 249, " That there was no Patent,
 " which in the Execution thereof, hath not been injurious. Would they
 " had never been granted. I hope there shall never be more. (All
 " the House said *Amen*.) In particular, most of these Patents have
 " been supported with Letters of Assistance from her Majesty's Privy
 " Council:

“ Council: But whosoever looks upon them, they shall find they carry
“ no other Stile than with relation to the Patent. I dare assure you,
“ that from henceforth there shall no more be granted; and how many
“ soever have been already granted, they shall all be revoked. But to
“ whom do they repair with these Letters? — To some Out-house, to
“ some desolate Widow, to some simple Cottage, or poor ignorant
“ People, who rather than they would be troubled, and *undo them-*
“ *selves by coming up hither*, they will give any thing in reason for these
“ *Caterpillars Satisfaction.*”

A FINE Apology truly! And a noble Justification of himself, his
Fellow-Counsellors, and his Prince, for arming these devouring Cater-
pillars with *Writs of Assistance*, issued from the Privy Council; some
of which had been executed in this manner for near thirty Years past.
But, — as if he had made too great a Concession in confessing these enor-
mous Abuses, he could not conclude his Speech without some kind of
Reprimand. For, towards the Close, he says, Page 251, “ Why, Par-
“ liament Matters are ordinarily talked of in the Streets. I have heard
“ myself, being in my Coach, these Words spoken aloud: *God pros-*
“ *per those that further the Overtbrow of these Monopolies!* *God send*
“ *the Prerogative touch not our Liberty!*”

HOWEVER, as these Declarations both of the Speaker, and the Secre-
tary were very exprefs, *That the Patents should be cancelled*; the Mem-
bers, who before were trembling like Children under the Apprehension
of the iron Rod of Prerogative, now burst out into vehement Trans-
ports of wild and extravagant Joy. And as their Acclamations upon
the Occasion may give us the truest Picture, and the liveliest Idea of
those Times, (which some would persuade us to prefer to the present)
I shall select a few of them by way of Sample. Mr *Wingfield* said, Page
252, “ My Heart is not able to conceive the Joy that I feel: And, I
“ assure you, my Tongue cannot utter the same. If a Sentence of ever-
“ lasting Happiness had been pronounced unto me, it could not have
“ made me shew more outward Joy, than I now do; which I cannot
“ refrain here to express (and here I think he wept.) There could
“ nothing have been more acceptable to the Subject, than this Mes-
“ sage. And I verily think, that if ever any of her Majesty's Words
“ were meritorious before God, I do think these are.” — This, you
will say, is soaring pretty high: But what is to follow is much above
it: For when Mr *Downold* moved the House, Page 257, “ *That the*
“ *gracious Message sent from her Majesty, might be written in the Books of*
“ *this House,*” [with a distant *Innuendo*, that if some such Course was not
U taken,

taken, perhaps they might be put off again with fair Speeches, as they were before, when they petitioned the Queen in a Body the last Parliament, four Years ago] Mr Secretary *Cecil* said, " I do not speak because I do dislike the Motion of that Gentleman that spoke last, but to defend the Diligence and Grace of the Queen. — And I do protest, there is not any Soul living, deserves Thanks in this Cause but our Sovereign." — Whereupon Mr *Davies* said, Mr Speaker, " That which was delivered unto you from her sacred self, I think to be Gospel, that is, *glad Tidings*. And as the Gospel is written and registered, so would I have that also: For *glad Tidings* come to the Hearts of the Subject. — This is all." And surely the Reader will say, *it is enough*. But if he likes to hear any more, Mr Speaker's Speech is still in a more exalted and pious Strain, *viz.* " My Heart is not able to conceive, nor my Tongue to utter the Joy I conceive for her Majesty's gracious, and especial Care for our Good and Welfare. Wherefore, as God said, *Gloriam meam alteri non daleo*; so may her Majesty say in that, that herself will be the only and speedy Agent, for the Performance of our most humble and wished Desires."

AND upon an Intimation given by the Secretary, that the Queen was willing to receive their Thanks upon the Occasion; and that, if the Speaker should come at the Head of forty, fifty, or an hundred Members, they should be all welcome; the general Cry of the House, instead of naming the particular Committee for that Purpose, was *All, All, All*; so no Committee was named. Therefore [see Page 262] " The Commons attended the Queen at *Whitehall*, about three of the Clock, to the Number of one hundred and forty. — At length the Queen came into the Council-Chamber; where sitting under the Cloth of State, at the upper End, the Speaker, with all the Commons came in; and after three low Reverences he spake to this Effect:

" MOST sacred, and more than most gracious Sovereign,
 " WE your faithful, loyal, and most obedient Subjects, and Commons here present, vouchsafed of your special Goodness (to our unspeakable Comforts) Access to your Royal Presence; do, in all Duty and Humbleness, come to present that which no Words can express, our most humble, and thankful Acknowledgment of your most gracious Message, and most bounden, and humble Thanks for your Majesty's most abundant Goodness, extended and performed to us.

" WE

“ WE cannot say (most gracious Sovereign) *we have called, and been heard; we have complained, and have been helped*: Though in all Duty and Thankfulness we acknowledge, *your sacred Ears are ever open, and ever bowed down to hear us, and your blessed Hands ever stretched out to relieve us*. We acknowledge (sacred Sovereign) we acknowledge, that before we call,  Your preventing Grace, and all-deserving Goodness do watch over us for our Good; more ready to give, than we can desire, much less deserve.

“ THE Attribute which is most proper unto God, *To perform all he promiseth* (most gracious Sovereign, Queen of all Truth, of all Constancy, of all Goodness, never wearied of doing Good unto us, which the Deeds themselves do speak) *that we must render unto you, as being most zealous, most careful to provide all good Things for us, most gracious, most tender to remove all Grievances from us, which all your Princely Actions have ever shewed*. And even now, your most gracious published *Proclamation, of your own only mere Motion, and special Grace, for the Good of all your People, doth witness unto us*.

“ WE come not (sacred Sovereign) one of ten, to render Thanks, and the rest to go away unthankful: But all, of all, in all Duty and Thankfulness, do throw down ourselves at the Feet of your Majesty. Neither do We present our Thanks in Words, or any outward Thing, which can be nothing, which can be no sufficient Retribution for so great Goodness. But in all Duty and Thankfulness, *prostrate at your Feet*, we present our most loyal, and thankful Hearts, even the last Drop of Blood in our Hearts, and the last Spirit of Breath in our Nostrils, to be poured out, to be breathed up for your Safety.

 “ After three low Reverences made, he with the rest kneeled down.”

BEHOLD here a glorious Sight for the Admirers of *Old England*, and the golden Days of good Queen *Bess*! — See the whole Commons of the Realm in Parliament assembled, prostrate on the Ground, as to an *Eastern Tyrant*, using not only the most fulsome Compliments, and the most notoriously false, and abject Flattery, but even idolizing and adoring a Fellow-Mortal; and addressing their Prince in the same Language, which both Scripture, and our established Church have appropriated to the supreme Being! — And all this for what? Why truly, That this most sacred, *and more than most gracious Sovereign*, would condescend to pay some regard to her *Coronation-Oath*, and govern her

People *according to Law*:—I say, *according to Law*: For every Grant of a Monopoly is a Violation of the Common Law of the Realm: and yet these are the Times that are eternally cried up; these are proposed as Patterns for us to copy after; nay, every false, and unjustifiable Artifice is made use of to render the People uneasy in their present IMPROVING Situation, and to wish for the Restoration of their former Miseries, and Oppressions.—In short, Sir Robert Cecil, and Sir Robert Walpole, are now both dead, and are gone to answer for what they have done amiss: Nor is there any Doubt to be made but that both had their *Faults*, as well as *Failings*: Yet, let the honest, and impartial World be the Judge between them, whether the one deserved so high a Degree of Applause, or the other so much Reproach, and Censure from the *English Nation*. Particularly, let their Conduct be examined in regard to the Liberty of the Subject, and a free Commerce. The former assisted in laying the most oppressive, and ruinous Taxes upon the People that any Nation can suffer; nay, he defended them in Parliament, when Attempts were made to repeal them; and what is still more, he *bullied* the Speaker, and the whole House, for admitting a Debate against them: The latter, of his own accord, brought a Bill into the House, and had it carried into a Law, for repealing at one time near two hundred of the most *impoverishing* Taxes: And the Speech made from the Throne on that Occasion, is justly recommended by Don Geronymo de Uxtariz * as a Model for all Princes to proceed upon in regard to National

* See *The Theory and Practice of Commerce*, written by Order of his Catholic Majesty, Vol. I. Chap. XXVIII. The Speech here referred to, was delivered from the Throne, October 29, 1721. And in consequence thereof, about one hundred and fifty six Articles of *British* Manufactures were allowed to be exported *Duty free*, which before paid a Duty; and thirty eight Articles of Raw Materials were imported *Duty free*, by Virtue of the same Regulation. See *Crouch's Book of Rates*, Customs inwards, and Customs outwards, where a distinct Account is given of the Taxes repealed by the eighth of George I. Chap. XV. Moreover, in the same Sessions, though not in the same Act of Parliament, several other excellent Provisions were made for granting Bounties and Premiums to the Importers of Pitch, and Tar, Hemp, and Naval Stores, from our Colonies in *North America*. And the Advancements which the *British Nation* have made in Shipping, Commerce, and Manufactures, and in all kinds of Industry, since the passing of this Law, have been prodigious. This was at the Beginning of his Ministry: And in the third Year of his present Majesty, that excellent Law was enacted, which we mentioned before, Page 132, relating to the *East India Company*. But, to omit Matters of lesser Note, the greatest Effort towards benefiting a Nation, was that for which he received the greatest Insults and Abuses, THE EXCISE SCHEME, by means of which the whole Island would have been made one general FREE PORT, and a *Magazine*, and *common Storehouse* for all Nations.—Indeed the Excise Scheme was not a perfect Scheme at its first Appearance: But the Foundation

National Commerce. Yet from that Moment, of so much Advantage to *Great Britain*, this able and judicious Minister was attacked with all the Rage and Bitterness, the Calumny and Invectives, that private Malice and Disappointments, and public Faction, joined to Disaffection, could possibly muster up. Such an ungrateful Treatment threw him into those Measures of *Self-Defence*, which, though not to be justified, were certainly more excusable in his Situation than in that of any other. And therefore, without entering into a Defence of all Parts of his Conduct, I am persuaded, that impartial Posterity will do him the Justice to acknowledge, that if ever a Statesman deserved well of the *British Nation* Sir Robert Walpole was that Man. — Indeed the only true Way of discovering, whether we are advancing, or retreating in our Political, and Commercial Capacity, is to compare the Past with the Present, and to examine whether we have the same Quantity of pernicious Taxes, and monopolizing Patents now subsisting, as we had formerly: If we have not, it is our Business to be thankful for the Deliverance we have received, and to unite our Endeavours to be freed from the Remainder: And this is *real* Patriotism, and public Spirit. — Whereas the Persons who are pleased to assume to themselves the glorious Name of *Patriots*, act upon a very different Plan, and therefore deserve a very different Appellation. — But as the more immediate Design of this APPENDIX is to set before the Reader, the true Origin of Monopolies and Exclusions, this should lead us to set forth the true Reasons, why so shrewd and politic a Sovereign as *Queen Elizabeth* should chuse this Method of taxing, and impoverishing her Subjects by means of her Prerogative, rather than apply to Parliament for Fifteenths, Tenths, and Subsidies: For the doing this will prove to a Demonstration, that exclusive Grants were so far from ever having been an useful Institution in regard to the Public, that they were, from the

Begin-
was good; and a very few Alterations would have rendered it a most useful Institution for the Purposes of *National Commerce*. But the Business of those Times was not to alter, mend, or improve, but to set up a Cry, and raise a Ferment. However, this Scheme, in its most imperfect State, would have defeated the Views of Monopolists, and have proved of great national Advantage. Nay, if the Bill had been so worded as to be only *permissive*, not *compulsory*, every Man in the Kingdom would, by this time, have made the Excise Scheme his own voluntary Choice: That is, he would have preferred the Method of putting his Goods in a Warehouse, and paying the Duties as he wanted them, rather than paying the Duties all at once at the Custom-house. — As a Proof of this, let it be observed, that the very Men who made the loudest Clamours about the Excise Scheme, in a few Years afterwards petitioned for a much worse, I mean the present Law relating to Tobacco; which is allowed on all Hands to be an Excise Scheme in Effect, and to have several Inconveniences, which that had not. — But to give some Salvo to the Matter, the Word *Permit*, is changed into that of *Certificate*.

Beginning, intended to be the Instruments of arbitrary Power, and Oppression. — To unravel which Affair three Propositions must be laid down.

I. THAT a Prince who intends to govern arbitrarily, ought not to ask such Favours of his People, as may lay a Foundation for them to make reciprocal Demands; — but he should fetch his chief Supplies out of the Stores of his own Prerogative.

II. THAT it is incompatible with the Views of such a Prince to permit his Subjects in *general* to grow Wealthy by means of Liberty, and a free Trade.

III. THAT if it is his Aim to be the Source of Power, he must contrive Matters in such a Manner, as to be likewise the Source of Property.

I. As to the first of these Propositions, surely it is self-evident. For what can be plainer than that a continual Dependence of the Crown upon the People for support, must exalt the Power of the one, and depress that of the other? Queen *Elizabeth* was so sensible of this Matter, that she resolved to make use of her Prerogative almost upon all Occasions, rather than apply to Parliament. And the great Secret of her artful Management consisted in this very thing. For her excessive Parsimony was owing to this Cause, and this only: And I think, it used to be a Saying either of hers, or some of her Ministers, That the Prince who applies often to Parliament, is like a Master borrowing Money of his Servants, who is consequently obliged to submit to their Humours. Therefore she had rather get one Shilling by means of her Prerogative, in which she was beholden to nobody, than a thousand Pounds by a Parliamentary Tax. And indeed, as she was very unwilling to apply to Parliament, even in the greatest Exigencies, so when she did it, she did not fail to urge the extreme Necessity, as a popular Topic of Justification. Nay, we find, that once, she either refused, or returned the Subsidies (I forget which) when there was no immediate Occasion for them, and by that means gained infinite Applause: But we never find, that she consented to a Law to abridge any Part of her vast Prerogative; tho' certainly the public Good was much nearer concerned in that Case, than in returning a temporary Subsidy. As to the Extent of the Liberty of the Subject on one side, and the Royal Prerogative on the other, the little that remained to the Subject (tho' that little was often encroached upon by forced Loans, and Benevolences)

nevolences) seemed to consist in this single Particular, *viz.* That no Tax could be raised upon the Lands, Persons, or Properties, of the Subject, without consent of Parliament, provided the Chattels, or Produce of those Lands, were consumed within the Kingdom. For, as to things either going out of the Kingdom, or coming in, the Sovereign alone held the * *Claves Regni*, and could lock, or unlock all the Ports at Pleasure. And accordingly we find, that Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James I.* King *Charles I.* and many other of our Princes, laid on what Imposts, and Duties they pleased, merely by sending Warrants to the Collectors of the respective Ports. But, in regard to Matters of *Home Manufacture*, and *Home Consumption*, they seemed to take a more round-about Way. For instead of laying on a *direct* Tax, and so permitting all Persons to exercise the Trade, provided they would pay the Tax (which would have been a much juster, as well as a more advantageous Way of raising Money) they limited the Numbers to be employed, and bargained for the Monopolies and Exclusions. And thus they set one Part of the Nation to prey upon the other; and, under the Notion of granting private Advantages to some, they riveted the public Chains on all: For every Man that was either concerned in any Exclusion, or hoped to be concerned, was of course a Wellwisher to this Part of the Prerogative, because he would support, what he thought, though *very erroneously*, his own Interest. — Thus much as to the Matter of Fact; but an inquisitive Reader will still be apt to ask, What Views could a Prince have in thus studying as it were to impoverish his Subjects? and what Benefit can redound to himself in laying a Scheme to prevent an Increase of that Wealth, which would increase his own? — Now the Answer to this Question will come under my

II. SECOND Proposition, *viz.* That it is incompatible with the Views of a Prince, who intends to govern arbitrarily, to permit his Subjects, *in general*, to grow rich by Trade. For indeed, how can this be done without granting them a general Liberty? And if they are to have this general Liberty, he is no longer the absolute Prince he intended to be. In Fact, if you expect Mankind to be industrious, you must make it appear, that they themselves, and not others, are to enjoy the Fruits of their Labours. And you cannot do this, till you grant them such *Securities*, as will put it out of your Power to recall these Concessions, if you were disposed. Besides, Trade and Industry naturally create an independent Turn of Thinking, which Circumstance necessarily inspires an Horror, and Detestation of arbitrary Power. Moreover,

* This is my Lord *Bacon*'s own Expression, who was as great an Instrument of Oppression in the Affair of Monopolies, and of other arbitrary Proceedings, as ever existed.

Moreover, Freedom of Trade brings likewise with it Freedom of *Debate*, as well as Freedom of Thinking. Add to all this, that though the Revenue increases by means of a *free Trade*, the Greatness of the Prince is *comparatively* diminished; and ten Millions may be in that respect a less Sum than one Million. — To illustrate this *seeming Paradox* let us borrow an Idea from private Life, and then apply: A Country Gentleman, for Instance, is Lord of a Manor, which clears him five hundred Pounds a Year; being a certain Tax, or Rent (call it which you please) received from an hundred poor Tenants, each of which miserable Wretches hath no more than five Pounds a Year, after having paid his Lord's Rent, to subsist upon. Now this is so small a Pittance, that it can hardly keep Life and Soul together; and therefore the Lord of the Manor may beat, and abuse those poor Creatures as long as he pleases; for in short, their extreme Poverty prevents almost a Possibility of seeking a legal Redress. — This being the Case, we will now suppose, that by means of a free Trade, the Income both of the Landlord, and of the Tenants is raised to ten times the Value: I ask therefore, Is the Landlord now as great a Man, *comparatively* speaking, as he was before? Can he insult, and abuse his Tenants with the same Impunity, as he was used to do? Or, in plain *English*, can he be as much a Tyrant over his new, commercial, well-clothed, and well-fed Subjects, as over his former, ragged, half-starved Slaves, and Vassals? — No; he cannot: For he will find, that fifty Pounds a Year hath created a vast Difference in their Way of Thinking, to what five Pounds did; and though the Tenants of five Pounds *per Annum* could spare nothing out of their wretched Income to make Head against Oppression, the Tenants of fifty Pounds will both *associate* themselves, and contribute largely towards procuring Assistance from others; they will harangue, *print*, and *publish*, and raise a general Ferment in order to defend their Rights, and Privileges, Properties, and Possessions, and secure them against all Attacks for the future. Therefore to apply this, — It is morally impossible, that an arbitrary Prince should wish the *Generality* of his Subjects to be rich: For he cannot promote their Riches, without diminishing at the same Time his own comparative Greatness: And this is not the Thing which we naturally expect from an absolute Monarch. Hence therefore it evidently appears, that though some arbitrary Governments may give *temporary* Incouragements to Trade, yet they never will do it but by Halves; they never can promote it but by partial Grants, and monopolizing Patents. For there is such a *Vice in the Constitution* of an arbitrary Government, as a late Author hath well expressed it in regard to *France*, as must obstruct all Attempts

tempts towards a generous, open, and universal Liberty. Hence therefore we now come to the

III. **THIRD Point**, which is, That if it is the Aim of the Prince to be the Source of Power, he must likewise endeavour to be the Source of Property: For the one cannot be supported without the other. And this follows so clearly from what hath been said, that very little need be added by way of Illustration. As to the Methods of compassing such an End, the old Gothic Constitution gave to the Crown such an immense Power in regard to the *Landed Property*, by means of the military Tenures, Wards, Liveries, Forfeitures, &c. &c. that surely there was no need of any more: And with respect to the *Commercial Property*, the foregoing Instances of Patents, Monopolies, and Exclusions, Writs of Assistance, Star-Chamber Prosecutions, &c. &c. have sufficiently proved, that no Man dared to be industrious, unless he acknowledged it both by Word and Deed, as an especial Favour, and Act of Grace obtained from the Prince.— Upon the whole, Thus much, I think, may now be insisted on, because it hath been fairly proved, viz. That Monopolies, and Exclusions, are the Remains of antient Tyranny and Oppression; — That they *never* were calculated for the public Good, and never can be productive of it: — Nay, that at the Time of their Institution, they actually were designed to create innumerable Dependents on the Court; such Dependents as, in modern Phrase, would be stiled *Placemen*, and *Pensioners*; and therefore we conclude that those Persons, who stand up in their Vindication, either *do not* know, or *will not* know, the manifold bad Consequences attending these Things.

II.

THE SECOND INSTANCE promised to be produced, relates wholly to Foreign Trade: And the principal View of producing it at present, is to shew, that the Pretences urged with such Confidence of late Years against opening the *Hudson's Bay*, and *Turkey Companies*, are no other, than the stale, hacknied Apologies, used in Defence of other Monopolies, above one hundred and fifty Years ago; and may serve with equal Force of Reason, to defend any Absurdity whatever. It will from hence likewise appear, that the Vindications of Monopolies, antient and modern, always come from the *same Quarter*: And consequently, that the less Regard ought to be paid to the Sentiments, and Opinions of such Vindicators, in whose Minds Partiality and Prejudice, *self*, and *local* Interests have so visibly the Ascendant. The Paper itself was drawn up by Sir *Edward Sandys*, the Ancestor, as I am informed,

of the present Lord Sandys:—And I can add with Pleasure, that his Lordship seems to be as much the Inheritor of the Patriot Sentiments of his Ancestor, as of his Name, and Fortunes; having greatly distinguished himself by the Services done to his Country in the Affair of Monopolies. Indeed at the Time when Sir Edward drew up this Paper, viz. the third of James I. (see *The Journal of the House of Commons*, Vol. I. Page 218) it cannot be supposed, that the Principles of Commerce were so well understood, as they are at present. And therefore some few Errors are to be expected. But the Reader will easily believe, and this Paper will be a convincing Proof, that a good Head, joined to a good Heart, will at all Times do great Things.—This is all I have to add by way of Introduction; and as to what is the Author's own, that shall be marked by way of Quotation; and what is mine, shall be included in Hooks.

* “INSTRUCTIONS touching the Bill for a FREE TRADE.

“THE Committees from the House of Commons, sat five whole
 “Afternoons upon the Bill. There was a great Concourse of Clothiers,
 “and Merchants of all Parts of this Realm, and especially of London,
 “who were so divided; as that all the Clothiers, and in Effect, all the
 “Merchants of England complained grievously of the Ingrossing, and
 “Restraint of Trade by the rich Merchants of London, as being the
 “Undoing, or great Hindrance of all the rest. And of London Mer-
 “chants three Parts named in the same Complaint against a fourth
 “Part; and of that fourth Part some standing stiffly for their Company,
 “yet repining at other Companies; divers Writings, and Informations,
 “were exhibited on both Parts. Learned Council was heard for the
 “Bill, and divers of the principal of the Aldermen of London
 “against it. All Reasons exactly weighed, and examined, the Bill,
 “together with the Reasons on both Sides, was returned, and reported
 “by the Committees to the House; where at the Reading it was three
 “several Times debated, and in the End past with great Consent, and
 “Applause of the House (as being for the exceeding Benefit of all the
 “Land) scarce forty Voices dissenting from them.

“THE
 * This Struggle for the Liberties of the People was two Years after the former; and seems to have taken its Rise from the Speeches, and Remonstrances that were made on that Occasion. Mankind are naturally Friends to Truth; and if you once put them in the right Way, and stop up the By-Paths of Self-Love, and Self-Interest, they themselves will take a Pleasure in finding it out: And one Discovery will open the Way for many others.

“THE most principal Reasons for the Inlargement of Trade were these:

“I. Natural Right, the first Reason for a free Trade.

“ALL free Subjects are born inheritable as to Heir-Land, so also to the free Exercise of their Industry in those Trades whereto they apply themselves, and whereby they are to live. Merchandizing being the chief, and richest of all other, and of greater Extent and Importance, than all the rest; it is against the NATURAL RIGHT, and LIBERTIES of the Subjects of *England*, to restrain it into the Hands of some few, as it now is. For although there may be now some five or six thousand Persons (counting Children and Prentices) free of the several Companies of Merchants in the whole, yet apparent it is, that the Governors of these Companies, by their monopolizing Orders, have so handled the Matter, as that the Mass of the whole Trade of all the Realm is in the Hands of some two hundred Persons, at the most! The rest serving for a Shew only, and reaping small Benefit.

“II. Judgment of Parliament, the second Reason for a free Trade.

“THE Law stands for it. And a Statute made the twelfth of *Henry VII.* never repealed by Parliament,  Only restrained by Charters since procured (by which means all the Monopolies have had their Original.) And the first of these Charters, since the making of that Statute, was *purchased* in the End of the Reign of *Henry VII.* at which Time *Empson*, and *Dudley*, were Instruments of wronging, and oppressing the People: Yet doth in no wise restrain the Liberty of free Trade, but expressly allows it, with Reference unto that very Act in the twelfth of his Reign, and so it continued until the Reign of *Elizabeth.*” [*Empson*, and *Dudley*, were not the first who sold Monopolies; for it was a common Practice with almost every Prince, and Minister, from the Conquest down to the Revolution, to do the like: This being the usual Way of raising Money at a Pinch, without applying to Parliament; And the common Method of gratifying Court Favourites, and creating what we would call *Places* and *Pensions*. As to the Law of the Land, it is most undeniable, that both the Common and Statute Law were ever in favour of a free Trade, foreign and domestic. But alas! the Civil Power soon learned from the Popes of *Rome*, the pernicious Doctrine of *Non-obstantes*; and then all our Laws and Constitutions were of no avail. For it was but to

insert in the Body of the Grant, or Patent, the all-conquering Word, *Non-obstante*, any Law, Custom, Statute, &c. (in Imitation of the Popes dispensing Power in Ecclesiastical Matters) and then neither the natural, nor civil Rights of the Subject were at all to be regarded; but every thing was to submit to this usurping *Non-obstante*. Thus it is, as I said before, and shall have too many Occasions to say again, that the Corruptions of Popery spread much wider, than is commonly imagined, and are lurking at this Day in several Parts of our Civil Constitution, after the Principles, on which they were built, were banished out of the Ecclesiastical. — But though *Empson*, and *Dudley*, were not the first who begun the Practice, they were the first who begun it after so express a Law was made to prevent it: And it is worthy of the Reader's Notice, that they did not pretend to contradict this Law in Words, but seemed to allow it, at the same Time that they were destroying its Force, and Intention. Their Pretence therefore was, to incorporate a Company for the Benefit of a free, and open Trade, *with a Power of making By-Laws for the good Government thereof*. And indeed whoever doth this, need do no more: For these *By-Law* Legislators will take effectual Care to do all the rest themselves: And if one Pretence, or one Disguise will not serve, another shall. Moreover, in regard to the particularizing *Empson*, and *Dudley*, as these Ministers were become very odious, the Author, Sir *Edward Sandys*, did right to mention *them*, and not others: Though he might with equal Justice, had it been prudent, have mentioned all the Ministry of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Favourites of the Prince then reigning. For in regard to Sir *Robert Cecil*, and others, they were still living, and in high Credit at Court; and with respect to Sir *Francis Bacon*, the Extracts of his Speeches under the former Head, are a sufficient Proof of his manner of thinking, and acting upon such Occasions. — Indeed I was promised an original Letter of his, wrote in Confidence to a Friend, wherein he boasts that he got five thousand Pounds a Year by the Sale of Monopolies. — But as I have not yet procured it, the Reader must judge for himself, whether the Thing is probable or not. Certain it is, that in those Times, the Court would grant a Monopoly for almost any thing that was asked, and paid for. And I have seen myself, in *Rymer's Fœdera*, a Grant from King *James I.* to six or eight Persons to teach the *noble Science of Defence*; together with a Power of examining, and licensing all other Masters of this noble Art; and what is truly shocking, a Power of administering Oaths!]

“ III. Example

“ III. Example of Nations, the third Reason for a free Trade.

“ THE Example of all other Nations generally in the World, who
“ avoid in themselves, and *bate* in us the monopolizing Way of Traf-
“ fic. For it cannot be otherwise accounted than a Monopoly, when
“ so large a Commodity is restrained into the Hands of so few in Pro-
“ portion, to the Prejudice of all others, who by LAW, and NATURAL
“ RIGHT might have Interest therein. And whereas some alledge,
“ that there are like Companies in other Countries, as of the *East In-*
“ *dies* in *Lisbon*, the House of Contraction there, the *Frontega* at *Ve-*
“ *nice*, the *Treinsana* at *Noremberg*; these Allegations are either un-
“ true, or improper. There are Places of Assembly for Merchants,
“ and to consult for good Orders, in all other Countries, but without
“ the Restraint of Trading from any Man. And how Merchandize
“ by this Freedom doth flourish in other Nations, and principally in
“ the Low Countries more than in ours [the *Dutch East India* Com-
“ pany being hardly then set up] “ it is apparent to all the World.

“ IV. Increase of Wealth, a fourth Reason for a free Trade.

“ THE Increase of Wealth generally of all the Land, by the ready
“ Vent of all our Commodities to the Merchant at higher Rate. For
“ where many Buyers are, Wares grow dearer; and they that buy
“ dear at home, must sell dear abroad. This will also make our Peo-
“ ple more industrious.” [A latent Error runs through the Reasoning
of every Part of this Paragraph, excepting the last Sentence:—The
Error is, That *Money is Wealth*; whereas in Fact, *Industry is Wealth*;
and Money is only the ready and expeditious Method of circulating
the Produce or Manufactures of this Industry from hand to hand. It
is therefore not true, that an open Trade would enhance the Price of
our Manufactures, if either bought at home of the Maker, or sold
abroad to the Consumer: Nay, the necessary Effect is just the contrary.
For a free Trade is the necessary Cause of Rivalship, and Emulation,
both in regard to the Manufacturer, and Exporter: And therefore in
such a Situation, all Goods whatever will be made in as high Perfec-
tion, and sold at as low a Price, as can be afforded with a living Pro-
fit.—Indeed the Sums of Money actually circulating throughout the
Kingdom, by this means would, in time, become almost immense;
but this Increase of Money doth not arise from the *Dearness*, but from
the *extraordinary Quantity* of the Things that are vended. And to
make this Matter yet plainer, I shall endeavour to illustrate it by a re-
cent

cent Example, which perhaps will make the strongest Impression on the Minds of *Gentlemen*, because they are more conversant with the Fact laid before them. It is the Case of Post-Horses, and Post-Chaises:—Now had there been a Company incorporated with the pompous Preamble, “For the better supplying of Post-Horses, and Post-Chaises, for His Majesty’s loving Subjects; and for preventing of Impositions on Travellers, and extortionate Demands, on account of the Necessity they are under to proceed in their Journey, be the Price never so unreasonable. WE THEREFORE, taking these Premises into mature Consideration, do ordain, constitute, and appoint, &c. &c.” I say, had there been such a Company, and such a Preamble, what would have been the Consequence? Why truly this; The Price of Post-Horses, and Post-Chaises, would have been at least *Cent. per Cent.* as dear as they are at present; and the Parliament would have had enough to do every Session in making new Laws, and Regulations against the Combinations, and excessive Demands of this *incorporated* Company; the Mayors of Towns, and Justices of the Peace, would have been armed with new Powers to settle the Prices, the Judges of the Assize would be frequently appealed to for determining the Disputes relating to these Affairs: And, in short, this one original Blunder of the Legislature, would have created a thousand others. Whereas at present, by letting all Things alone, that is, by leaving Things free and open, as Nature and Providence designed them, the Prices have settled of themselves, and are become as moderate, and reasonable, as can be wished; no Combinations, no Quarrels, Appeals, or Litigations about the Price are formed: And yet Horses, and Chaises are to be had in Plenty all over the Kingdom, and *better*, and *cheaper* than in any Part of *Europe*. So that upon the whole, though the Price of riding Post is greatly reduced, the Use of Post-Horses, and Chaises, is proportionably multiplied: And the Consequence of both is, that the Sums of Money actually paid on these Accounts may perhaps be ten times greater than they would have been, had this Trade (for so it may be called) been put under the Management of Governors, and Directors, Courts of Assistants, Committees, Freemen of the Company, &c. &c.—Hence therefore, the Reader will be pleased to make one general Remark, *viz.* That if all Restraints were taken off, and every other Trade was as free as this, one half at least, of those cumbersome Volumes called the *Statutes at Large*, which are now so great a national Grievance, might be laid aside at once, or rather made a Bonfire of, by way of rejoicing for such an happy Deliverance.]

"V. Equal Distribution, a fifth Reason for a free Trade.

"THE more equal Distribution of the Wealth generally of all the Land, which is a great Stability and Strength to the Realm, even as the equal distributing of Nourishment in a Man's Body. The contrary whereof is inconvenient in all Estates, and oftentimes breaks out into Mischief, when too much Fulness puffs up some with Presumption, and too much Emptiness leaves the rest in perpetual Discontent, the Mother of Desire of Innovations, and Troubles. And this is the proper Fruit of Monopolies: Example hereof may be *London*, and the rest of the Realm. The Customs and Imports of *London* come to 110,000*l.* a Year; and of the rest of the whole Realm but to 17,000*l.*"

"VI. Increase of Shipping, and Mariners, a sixth Reason for a free Trade.

"THE Increase of Shipping, and especially of Mariners in all Parts of *England*, and how greatly the Mariners of the Realm have decayed in all Places of late time, and with how great Danger of the State in these late Wars, is known to them that have been imployed in that kind of Service, who do also attribute the Cause thereof to this Restraint of Trade; free Traffic being the Breeder, and Maintainer both of Ships, and Mariners; as by memorable Example in the Low Countries may be seen." [Note, The Number of Mariners throughout the Kingdom were then said to be but ten thousand. See *Hume's History of James I.* Chap. VI.]

"VII. Profit of the Crown, a seventh Reason for a free Trade.

"THE Increase of the Customs, and Subsidies to the King, which doth necessarily follow the Increase of foreign Traffic and Wealth, is to be considered: And they which say otherwise, will dare to say any thing. These Reasons are in great Part set down in the Act of the twelfth of *Henry VII.* — Other particular Reasons there are, which this present time doth yield.

"VIII. Present Opportunity abroad, an eighth Reason for a free Trade.

"UNDER our gracious *Solomon*, a Prince of Wisdom, and Peace, we are like to be in League, or Amity with all Nations; whereby as there will be greater Freedom abroad to trade to all Places, so it is fit to have greater at home for all Persons to trade. This Alteration of Times may make that fit now, which in Times of Hostility might have seemed unfit.

"IX. Necessity

“ IX. Necessity at home, a ninth Reason for a free Trade.

“ As there will be greater Opportunity abroad, so also much more
 “ Necessity at home: For what else shall become of Gentlemens Sons,
 “ who cannot live by Arms, when there are no Wars? And Learn-
 “ ing-Preferments are common to all, and mean: So that nothing re-
 “ mains fit for them, save only Merchandize; (and such is the Use of
 “ other politic Nations) unless they turn Serving-men, which is a poor
 “ Inheritance.

REASONS for continuing the Restraint on Trade stated,
 and answered.

“ I. Imputation on the State.

“ IT is a Taint to the King, and State, that these restrained Com-
 “ panies should be called, or counted *Monopolies*. And by this Act
 “ we justify, and strengthen the Complaint of the Hanse Towns, and
 “ other Nations against the State, for suffering such Companies.

Answer. “ THE same Reason doth justify all the Monopolies that
 “ ever were: It is no Taint to the State, if Abuses creep in; but if
 “ Reforms desired by Parliament be denied. But surely this
 “ Taint can no way attaint his Majesty, who hath declared himself a
 “ just Enemy to all these unjust Monopolies.” [The very Apology
 here brought by the Monopolists is a Proof, that other Nations would
 not be displeased to see these Exclusions set aside. For indeed every
 exclusive Grant is a reciprocal Disadvantage, and a Stop to mutual In-
 dustry;—though the Detriment is much greater to that Nation, which
 authorises the Exclusion, than to the other which doth not. How-
 ever, as both are Losers, we have no need to fear, that our Correspon-
 dents abroad (though that hath been sometimes suggested) would re-
 sent our setting a Trade free: Nay, they would rejoice at it, because
 their Interest would be promoted as well as ours. As to the Compli-
 ment paid King *James*, That he was an Enemy to Monopolies, it was
 artful in Sir *Edward* so to do: But the Sequel will shew, that he was
 just such an Enemy to them, as his Predecessor Queen *Elizabeth* was
 before him; and as all other Monarchs are, who intend to rule arbi-
 trarily, and to check a Spirit of Independency, and Liberty in the
 Minds of their People.]

“ II. Not Monopolies.

“ THESE Companies are not Monopolies: For a Monopoly is when
 “ Liberty of Selling, due to all Men by Right, is restrained to one;
 “ with Prejudice to all others.

Answer.

Answer. "THE Name of Monopoly, though taken originally
" from personal Unity, yet is fitly extended to an impropportionable
" Number of the Sellers in regard of the Ware that is [or might be]
" sold. If ten Men had the only Sale of all the Horses in *England*,
" this were a Monopoly; much more the Company of Merchant Ad-
" venturers; which in effect are not above two hundred Persons:—
" And the Clothiers having no utterance of Cloth but to the Merchant
" Adventurers, they, by a Combination among themselves, will buy at
" what Time, what Quantity, and what Prices themselves list; where-
" by the Clothiers are fain often to lay their Cloths to pawn, to slack
" their Market, to the utter Undoing of their poor Workmen, their
" Wives, and Children." [The Advocates for the *Turkey* Company
used the very same Plea to the Parliament with this here mentioned,
viz. That their Company is no Monopoly: And the precious Reason
assigned for it was, that all *mere* Merchants (by which is meant, all
Persons who buy in *gross*, and sell in *gross*, without ever dividing their
Merchandise into *smaller Parcels*, than they receive them: And, by
the By, if we go to the Strictness of the Letter, there are scarce *ten*
such Merchants in the whole Kingdom) and likewise that all Lords,
and Lords Sons, upon paying a Fine of fifty Pounds, had a Right to
the Freedom of their Company. It was thus that they proved them-
selves to be no Monopolists. But one general Answer will suffice for
all this Chicane: *viz.* That in a *Commercial Sense*, every Exclusion
from the common Benefit of Trade, due to all Men by *natural Right*,
is a MONOPOLY. And the Degrees of this Monopoly are either greater,
or less, in proportion to the Restraints and Abridgments of such natural
Right.]

" III. Keeping up our Commodities.

" THESE Companies keep up the Price of our Commodities abroad,
" by avoiding an Over-glut of our Commodities in Places whereunto
" they trade. And this Experience doth witness: For our Cloth is
" sold of late Years much dearer than in former Times: Whereas
" contrariwise, when Trade is free, many Sellers will make more
" cheap, and of less esteem.

Answer. " IT is true, that all Companies keep up their Commo-
" dities for their own private Lucre; but they do it unjustly, and to
" the Discontent of all other Men: Which have been the Cause of so
" many Edicts of the Empire against the Company of Merchant Ad-
" venturers (which hath driven them so often to shift their Mart) and

“ it is the Cause, that our Merchants are *universally bated*; no other
 “ Christian State either using, or induring such restrained Companies
 “ in Matters of Merchandise.” [So far the Author was certainly in
 the right: For though all other Nations have at present as many Mo-
 nopolies as the *English*, if not more, they had them not when this Au-
 thor wrote. As to what follows,—he endeavours, in the Remainder
 of this Answer, to prove, that a free and open Trade would not sink
 the Price of *English* Commodities at a foreign Market; than which
 nothing could be more absurd, and incredible. But yet, I think, I can
 trace the Steps by which he, and many others, have fallen into this
 egregious Error. — In the first Place, the capital Mistake, that *Money*
is Riches, is the Basis of all: And then, being unwilling to allow, that
 a free Trade would cause our Goods to be sold for *less Money* at a
 foreign Market, they are obliged to infer, that the *National Ballance*
of Trade, and the *Mercantile Ballance of Trade* are one, and the same
 Thing: Whereas these Ideas are perfectly distinct, and may be (as
 they often are) intirely repugnant to each other. For the Business of
 the Merchant is to get as large a Profit as he can upon small Ex-
 ports: And his perpetual Thirst after a Monopoly is for this very
 End: But the Interest of the Nation is to promote general Industry,
 and Labour at home; which consists in exporting the greatest Quan-
 tities at the smallest Profits; in order to tempt Foreigners by Dint of
 Cheapness to buy our Manufactures. Therefore what is Gains to the
 one, may be Loss to the other. Add to this, that the Views of the
 Merchant are *merely* and *solely* to get Money; and if he can get this by
 imploying the fewest Hands, he thinks it so much the better: Whereas
 the Views of a Nation should be *wholly* and *solely* to promote Industry;
 and then National Industry will always command as much Cash, and
 Credit as are wanted for the Purposes of Circulation. Nay, what is
 still more; if it were possible to increase the Quantity of Money in a
 Nation by diminishing the Quantity of Labour (which is the utmost
 that a Monopolist could propose, even upon his own Hypothesis) this
 would be so far from being a national Advantage, that it would be-
 come one of the most fatal Disasters, and impoverishing Systems that
 could befall any People. And yet the whole Defence of the *Hudson's*
Bay Company, when that Affair was last before the Parliament, turn-
 ed upon this very Thing. — And whenever it shall come on again, we
 shall be told over and over the same idle Story, about the Ballance of
 Trade, Savings to the Nation, &c. &c.—Indeed their Advocates have
 fully proved, that this exclusive Company keep up the Price of *Eng-*
lish

lish Commodities at *Hudson's Bay* with a Vengeance; And if this is any Merit, if this is a Saving to the Nation, they certainly have it in the highest Degree, they certainly save nine Parts in ten of the Labour that might be exported. But every honest, impartial Man will readily confess, that it had been much more for the Interest of the Public, that Woollen Gloves had been sold to the *Indians* for *Sixpence*, than for NINE SHILLINGS the Pair, and other Things in Proportion.]

“ IV. Vending all now.

“ THE Companies that are now, do vend all the Commodities of the Land; and yet are they hardly able to live one by another.

Answer. “ IT is not all vended which the Land might spare; and that by Reason of the Courses held by these Companies, to their own excessive Gain, and certain Loss of all other Men. Besides, when Traffic shall flourish with us, as it doth in other Countries where Trade is free, and namely in the Low Countries, who thereby have supported the huge Charge of their long Wars; Things merchantile will increase daily by this Incouragement to the Subject's Industry, even as they do there. For natural Commodities are more than trebled by the Access of Art and Industry: And howsoever, yet the Division of Wealth will be more equal: For now, by plotting of the Governors of these Companies, some few over-grown Men devour the Wealth, and make Merry, whilst the rest, even of their own Company, want and weep.” [The Plea here made use of, That the Merchant Adventurers sell all the Commodities of the Land, is the same in effect with that of the late Advocates for the *Hudson's Bay Company*, viz. That they buy all the Commodities produced; i. e. they buy all the Beaver and Fur, which the *Indians* bring down to the Forts; and if they brought more down, the Company would buy more. Now these Monopolists take that for granted in this Argument, which they know to be false by their own Practice; viz. That the Prospect of superior Gains is no Incentive to future Endeavours: They know, that they themselves would not endeavour to preserve this Monopoly, if they were sure of being Losers, instead of Gainers by it. And therefore as the Clothiers in the one Case, and the *Indians* in the other, have no Incouragement to Labour and Industry, what can we expect, but that they should take no more Pains, than what is barely necessary and unavoidable? The real Wonder would be to see any People desirous of being industrious, without Incouragement. For Self-Love, and Self-Interest, will as naturally prompt a Man to Idleness, and Laziness, if he foresees no Reward for his Industry, as it

will teach him to be diligent, and indefatigable with the Prospect of Gain. Put the Case therefore, that the Monopolists, and the *Indians* had changed Stations; and then I ask, what Stomach would these active Monopolists have to bear the Fatigues of hunting Beaver, and suffer all the Inclemencies of Weather; if they were sure, that after they had been at all this Pains, the *Indians* would give them in exchange but sixteen Flints for a Beaver Skin, or one Pound of Vermilion for sixteen Beavers?]

THE fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth Pretences are so frivolous, and so little to our present Purpose, that I shall intirely omit them. As to the thirteenth, though it is in itself perhaps one of the weakest of all, yet as it hath been at all times the most prevalent with a certain Set of Men, and the most repugnant to the national Prosperity, I shall be obliged to mention, and to descant a little upon it. The Plea is this; "That the destroying of Monopolies would hurt the Interests of the City of *London*, which ought to be upheld, because it is the head City of the Kingdom." To which the Author returned the following Answer, "That the intended Bill was for the Interests of the City of *London*, unless we confine *London* into some two hundred Men's Purfes. The rest of the City of *London*, with the whole Realm, sue greatly for this Bill, and cry they are undone, if it should be crossed." [Now though this Answer is good in the Main, yet it is not sufficiently explicit; and therefore may be considered more as an *Argumentum ad Hominem*, than a thorough Confutation of the Objection. And indeed as long as this Objection is supposed to have any weight, so long we may assure ourselves, that the Representatives of the City of *London* will be instructed by their Constituents to oppose all Endeavours towards putting Trade upon a broad, and national Basis. Nay, as these Gentlemen, on Account of their Situation, and Commercial Connections, have been generally supposed to be the best Judges in Commercial Matters, a kind of *implicit Faith* hath been reposed on their Opinions; and their Decisions have been too frequently regarded, as carrying a sort of *Papal Infallibility* in the Commercial World. It is therefore become absolutely necessary to examine into the Grounds of the foregoing Assertion, That an open and national Commerce would be prejudicial to the Interests of the City of *London*. — For the Reader will please to observe, that I do not once expostulate the Point with the Citizens on the Footing of Justice, natural Right, or common Equity; though surely one might say

say a little on that head, and venture to hint at least ; That if the Interests of the Nation, and of the City of *London*, are in any respect incompatible, the latter ought to give way to the former.—But, waving all that, my present Business is to prove, that a free Trade in the Out-Ports can never be detrimental to the real Interests of the City of *London*. And in order to do this, I would beg leave to ask one Question, *viz.* Under what Idea would the City of *London* chuse to consider itself in this Affair? If under that of a Shop, or Magazine to serve Customers, (which is certainly the most natural Idea for the Metropolis of the Kingdom) then, I say, it can never be the Interest of this Shop-keeper, that all his Customers should be poor, and ready to starve : For the poorer they are, the less able to become good Customers at his Shop. If the Citizens would chuse to consider themselves under the generous Notion of *Monopolists*, and *Excluders*, and the rest of the Nation as *excluded* from their natural Right to a free Trade ; this State of the Case, so flattering to partial Self-Love, and Self-Interest, is both false in itself, and if it were true, would be of no Service, but a real Detriment to the Citizens of *London* : It is false, because the Citizens in general are the *Excluded*, and not the *Excluders* in regard to foreign Trade ; inasmuch as the whole Number of the Freemen of *London* belonging to the *East India*, the *Turky*, and the *Hudson's Bay* Companies are hardly an hundredth Part of the Inhabitants of the City. Nay farther, allowing that the Trade was free, and open to all the Inhabitants of *London*, without Fine, without By-Laws, or any other cramping Regulation, but shut up from the rest of the Subjects of the Kingdom ;—yet this itself would create a Monopoly against the far greater Part of the Inhabitants of the Metropolis ; because none could reap the Benefit of such an exclusive, detrimental Trade, but the Exporters, and Importers of Goods, who in the Nature of the Thing, can be but a very few in Comparison to the Numbers of other Tradesmen necessary in a large City. And therefore the other Tradesmen must become the Slaves, and Dupes of these Monopolists, contributing to rivet the Chains on the Necks of others, nay on themselves too, without receiving any Profit or Compensation. — The monopolizing Merchant *taxes* his Fellow-Citizens both in his Exports and Imports ; and yet expects, that they should blindly, and stupidly vindicate his Cause, and make it their own ! — This being the Case, let the Citizens themselves be the Judges, whether in standing up for a Monopoly of some few of their Fellow-Citizens to their own Prejudice, they do not in reality leave the Substance, and catch at the Shadow. Let them likewise

likewise consider, which are indeed their *real* Friends, — those who would promote a general, and universal Commerce all over the Kingdom, which must of Course center in the Capital; — or those others, who would check Labour, and tax Industry, who would squeeze all the Wealth of the Kingdom into the City of *London*, and the Wealth of the City of *London* into the Purses of a Score or two over-grown Monopolists, and tyrannical Ingrossers.]

As to the fourteenth, the fifteenth, and the rest of the Pretences, as they are both trifling in themselves, and contain nothing in particular relating to the present Times, I believe the Reader will readily excuse my not mentioning them. — It will be more to the Purpose to set forth the extraordinary Consequences of this honest, and in the Main, very judicious Representation. But alas! what shall I say on this Occasion? Shall I say, what every Lover of his Country would wish to hear, that this worthy Patriot received the Thanks of his King and Country for his modest, sensible, and nervous Vindication of the natural Rights of Mankind? No: Nothing of this was to be expected from the Prerogative, and arbitrary Government of *good Old England*. In short, this *deserving* Member of the *English* Parliament met with a Prison for his Reward, even during the Sitting of the House; such was the Regard paid to Civil Liberties, and *Parliamentary* Privileges in those Times! And the King, notwithstanding he was complimented with the Name of *Solomon* in this very Memorial, shewed no Disposition of pursuing *Solomon's* Maxim, viz. *Of establishing his Throne by Righteousness*. Indeed, a little before the Meeting of the Parliament, or at least before this Representation against Monopolies, the King had, of his own accord, recalled several of those Patents which were complained of in *Queen Elizabeth's* Time: But whether this was done out of a Regard to the Memory of his Predecessor, and to fulfil her Royal Promise, which she did not live to execute herself; — or whether with a View of gaining Popularity at his first Accession to the Throne, and in order to obtain the larger Subsidies from the *English* Parliament, is impossible now to determine. But certain it is, that, whatever his Motives were, he had no Views to the Benefit, and Extension of National Commerce, by these Revocations; because he not only refused to give his Assent to this Bill for abolishing the Company of Merchant Adventurers, but imprisoned those Members that were active in promoting it. Nay, immediately upon the rising of this very Parliament, he erected an exclusive Company for trading with *Spain*, and *Portugal*; and

and would have proceeded farther, so as to have included the Trade to *France* in the same Monopoly, had not the ensuing Parliament interposed, and annulled both the one, and the other. See the Preamble of the third of *James I.* Chap. VI. — In short, his weak and childish Extravagancies obliged him to make frequent Applications to Parliament: This Measure, so cautiously avoided by his Predecessor, threw him into fresh Difficulties: For the Consequence was, That either he must give up some Points of his darling Prerogative, or obtain no Supplies. — Supplies were to be obtained at any rate, in order to feed his devouring Favourites. But wherever he could, he stuck to his Prerogative: And as a Proof of it, let it be observed, that he made a new Grant of most of those Patents, which he had formerly recalled; besides bestowing several others, foreign and domestic, on his Friends, and Favourites; and to complete the Scene, by Virtue of his own Warrant, without Vote of the House, or Act of Parliament, he frequently laid Impositions upon the Manufactures of the Kingdom, when exported, and on raw Materials, if imported, to the Value of five, and sometimes as high as twenty five *per Cent.*

JUDGE therefore by these Circumstances, whether the Taxes were most oppressive, and most impoverishing then, or now; and whether we ought to wish for the RESTORATION of those Times, and prefer them to the present: Judge likewise, whether Monopolies, and Exclusions were ever necessary, or ever vindicable; And above all, please to reflect, that every Plea, Pretence, or Apology urged at this Day in defence of these Things, is nothing else but a nauseous Repetition of the same idle, canting Story, which hath been confuted a thousand Times over. As to the *Spanish*, and *Portugal* Company, the Trade to those Countries is now free, and unlimited; therefore Experience hath fully shewn us, that it can be safely carried on, without the Management of an exclusive Company. But if the Exclusion had still continued, I must insist upon what I have proved before, and now repeat, That the Arguments which might be drawn from the Proceedings of the Popish Inquisition, the Bigotry of an ignorant, haughty, and furious People, and the natural Jealousy of the whole *Spanish* Nation, would have created a much more plausible, and specious Pretence for keeping up that Monopoly, than for any other now existing. With what Face then can any Man be an Advocate for others? —

AND now after this long and tedious Detail, I must beg the Reader to consider the Importance of the Subject, and in consequence thereof

to judge the more favourably of the Length of this SECTION, and APPENDIX. Nothing of the like Nature will occur hereafter. But it seemed necessary in the present Case, to obviate every Plea, to refute every Cavil, to strip off all Disguises, and to lay naked before the Reader the base, but true Original of these odious, and enslaving Usurpations. In one word, As we are now blessed with Liberty of Conscience, and a free Government, we want nothing to complete our Happiness under a Race of excellent Princes, but that Liberty of Commerce, to which every Man is intitled both by the Right of Nature, and the general Tenor of the Laws of his Country: — And towards the attaining of which our gracious Sovereigns of the House of *Hanover* have ever manifested the readiest Concurrence. This I say, and insist upon, without fear of the Imputation of Flattery; because it is neither more, nor less than the *simple Truth*: For, since the coming of this *patriot* Family to the Throne, many Monopolies have been destroyed, and the Trade thrown intirely open; and many more greatly weakened, and rendered less oppressive; and yet not one new Exclusion hath been erected, not one monopolizing Patent hath been granted, excepting to the Inventors of new Discoveries as a reasonable *Recompence*, for fourteen Years. — Now this Circumstance of destroying, opening, and weakening so many Monopolies in so short a Time, is what no Nation in *Europe* can boast of but ourselves; neither could we do it in any Age but the present. — May we still go on, and complete what is wanting!

The End of the Appendix.

HAVING

HAVING brought the Treatise thus far, the Author is desirous of laying it before his Commercial Friends, and other proper Judges, during this Recess from public Business; hoping to receive the Benefit of their Correction, and Improvement, while he is proceeding on with the rest. And indeed his general Plan being now sufficiently laid open, an intelligent Reader cannot fail of judging of the Nature, and Importance of what is to follow: And consequently, if he approves of the Author's Design, and Manner of conducting it, he may suggest such useful Hints, and Observations, as would probably have escaped the Author's Notice, but which he shall most thankfully receive, and incorporate into his Work.

THE Author is the more particularly earnest in making this humble Request to the judicious Lovers of their Country; inasmuch as without some kind Assistance of this Sort, it will be extremely difficult for him to go through all the Parts of this extensive Subject, especially that relating to Taxes, and to execute his Undertaking in the Manner he could wish. For indeed the Reasons on the *moral* Tendency, and *commercial* Use of *proper* Taxes, have never yet been exhibited to the Public; — or if they have, the Author hath not been so happy as to meet with them: And therefore, since he must still consider them as a *new System*, he would be the more desirous of producing it finished, and complete to public View, and in some Degree not unworthy of public Attention.

As to the Author's own Theory, it is certainly no complex Thing, but is sufficiently clear, and plain: *viz.* If you have a Mind to have your People in *general* honestly, and usefully imployed, lay your chief Taxes upon Idleness, and Pleasures: For such Taxes will make all People frugal, and industrious: And Frugality, and Industry necessarily create Wealth: The INFALLIBLE CONSEQUENCE of Wealth is *Injoyment*; and Injoyment is the properest Subject for Taxation. Thus therefore the Circle goes round, the more Taxes (*of this sort*) the more Riches, — the more Riches the more Pleasures, — the more Pleasures the more Taxes, — the more Taxes the more Riches, &c. &c. — Or, if you prefer to consider the Subject in another View, then I would say, Abolish every Tax, and remove all Impediments whatever, which might prevent Self-Love, the *Grand Mover*, from operating for the Public Good: But bar up with high Taxes, Duties, and Impositions, all the Avenues, and By-Paths, which might make an

Opening for irregular, or corrupt Self-Love to decline from the great Road of private Virtue, and public Happiness. And when you have set this Plan once in Motion, you have all the Certainty, which is to be expected in human Affairs, that it will not miscarry; For the daily, and hourly Collection of the Revenue, is a constant and never-ceasing Agent in the Execution of your System: Whereas all other Applications to Law, or Justice, can proceed, even at the best, only by Fits, and Starts. Thus therefore, Rewards and Punishments are the grand Hinges, on which, not only Government, and Religion, but national Commerce, and national Industry, ought to turn: And indeed, the nearer you bring your Commercial Ideas to the Standard of good Government, and sound Religion, the more lasting, the more extensive, and the more perfect is your Plan.

BUT though the general Nature of the Subject is so very plain, and intelligible; and though the Application of it would be extremely easy to a State *now in forming*; yet it requires the nicest and coolest Judgment to adapt the several Parts of it to a State *already formed*. And nothing should be offered to the Regard of the Public, but what is really practicable, and may be introduced, without throwing the Body Politic into unnatural, and dangerous Convulsions. As to the Remainder of this Work, the Skeleton thereof is as follows:

CHAP. II. of PART II. continued, viz.

SECTION III.

A Polity for improving our Colonies, and extending the Trade between them and the Mother-Country to their mutual Advantage.

SECTION IV.

A Polity for making all Ports free, and easing Trade of several Burdens.

SECTION V.

A Polity for suppressing Smuggling.

SECTION VI.

A Polity for a sure, and expeditious Manning of the Fleet without Pressing.

SECTION VII.

A Polity for making good Roads, navigable Rivers, and Canals.

SECTION VIII.

A Polity for establishing an Uniformity of Weights, and Measures throughout the Kingdom.

S E C

SECTION IX.

A Polity for a perfect Incorporation with Ireland.

C H A P. III.

On Coin, and Credit as the Mediums of Commerce.

SECTION I.

On the Nature, and Circulation of human Industry.

SECTION II.

On the Rise, and Origin, the Use, and Necessity of some Medium, Deposit, or Certificate, whereby the Exchange of the Produce of one Man's Labour may be facilitated for that of another. — And that this Medium, Deposit, or Certificate, is what we call Money.

SECTION III.

On the true Meaning of the relative Terms, Market Price, and Value of Commodities, Cheapness, Dearness, Scarcity, Plenty, &c. &c.

SECTION IV.

The Reasons assigned why Gold and Silver are found preferable to other Metals for the Purposes of making them into Money; and how far a Paper Certificate may as truly become Money, as Pieces of the Metals of Gold, and Silver.

SECTION V.

What is intrinsic in these Metals, and what is more properly relative: — viz. The Intrinsics in Gold, and Silver are Size, Weight, and Fineness: The Relatives are the several Proportions of the Weight, and Fineness of the Coins of one Country compared with those of another: And from these Comparisons results that imaginary Coin, or Medium between the two, called the Par of Exchange. — After this Comparison with foreign Coins, whether Gold or Silver, there is a secondary or domestic Comparison, which hath an universal Influence, tho' little attended to, viz. The domestic Proportion between Gold, and Silver, whether set higher or lower, than it is in other Countries.

SECTION VI.

On the Doctrine of Exchanges, and the Nature of Banking, illustrated by familiar Ideas taken from Common Life, and then applied.

SECTION VII.

Reasons for increasing the Quantity of Metal Money, and the Politics for so doing.

SECTION VIII.

Reasons for changing a considerable Part of the dead national Debt into circulating Certificates or Paper Money; and a Scheme proposed, whereby every Man in the Kingdom may receive Interest every Moment for his Money, and become his own Banker; so that the national Debt shall become the most advantageous Institution to Commerce, Manufactures, Agriculture, and general Industry, that ever existed.

PART III.

A System of Politics for the Preservation, and Improvement of Good Morals.

DISSERTATION I.

ON the Connection, and intire Harmony between National Commerce, Good Morals, and Good Government: That they all promote each other; nay, that they are but Parts of one general Scheme, in the Designs of Providence, though considered by us as separate, and distinct, and sometimes as unconnected.

DISSERTATION II.

That as Commerce must be under the Guidance of Good Morals, the Rules of Good Morals are therefore to be applied to regulate these artificial Wants of Mankind, which are the Basis of Commerce: And these Reasonings illustrated by plain Facts, and Examples. Politics proposed.

SECTION I.

Proved, that all the former Politics relating to the Increase of Mankind, Part I, are useful to Good Morals.

SECTION II.

Proved, that all the former Politics relating to national Industry, and the right Employment of Time, Part II, are productive of the same good Effect.

SECTION III.

A Polity for superintending all public Places of Expence, Pleasure, and Diversion.

SECTION IV.

A Polity for securing those Trades to the Female Sex, which are fittest for their Condition.

SECTION V.

A Polity for preventing the present bad Effects of Electioneering.

SECTION VI.

A Polity for preventing national Perjury.

SECTION VII.

A Polity for clearing the Streets of Street-walkers, for the well-regulating of Jails, and Bridewells, and for making Executions less frequent, but more decent, and solemn.

SECTION VIII.

An annual Survey, and Register of the Inhabitants.

PART IV.

A System of Taxes preventive of Idleness, Extravagance, &c.—promotive of good Morals,—and productive of national Industry, Wealth, and Plenty.

SECTION I.

A Dissertation on the Nature, Reason, and Use of Taxes.

SECTION II.

Rules for judging whether any Tax proposed is bad, innocent, or good: These Principles applied to our present System, viz.

SECTION III.

Such Taxes as ought to be continued in Statu quo.

SECTION IV.

Such as ought to be augmented.

SECTION V.

Such new Taxes as ought to be laid on.

SECTION VI.

Such as ought to be lessened.

SECTION VII.

Such as ought to be totally abolished.

SECTION VII.

Such Bounties, Drawbacks, or Premiums, as ought to be added, increased, — lessened, — or withdrawn.

SECTION IX.

Regulations for the most frugal Methods of collecting the Revenue, and the most serviceable to Trade and Industry.



P A R T V.

Miscellaneous Reflections, and Observations.

SECTION I.

SUCH vulgar Errors exposed relating to Trade, as were not particularly confuted in the foregoing Treatise.

SECTION II.

Rules for judging of the Increase, or Decrease of Trade in general, and any Branch of it in particular.

SECTION III.

Rules for setting up any new Branch of Trade, Merchandize, or Manufacture.

SECTION IV.

General Directions for Travellers, whether through our own, or in foreign Countries; viz. What Questions to ask relating to Civil, Religious, or Commercial Liberty; the Tenure of Lands, different Holdings, and Jurisdictions, Nature of Government, Courts of Justice, Tendency of Taxes, and the like: And what Inferences to make from the respective Answers: — How to judge of the Genius of a People from their political Constitution, and vice versa: How to account for the Decay, or Improvement of Trade, Manufactures, Agriculture, Husbandry, &c. and of the Increase or Diminution of the Numbers of People: Also a true Method of finding out the comparative Riches or Poverty of the State, or Country through which you travel.

SECTION V.

The whole Science, and System of Commerce reduced into a Series of short Maxims, or Aphorisms. The Conclusion.

P O S T S C R I P T.

IT is humbly requested of those Gentlemen, and honourable Persons, into whose Hands these Sheets shall be committed, that they would please to return them in two, or three Month's Time, (with their Corrections, and Amendments in the Margin) sealed up, and delivered either to

The Reverend Dr BIRCH, Secretary to the Royal Society, in
Norfolk-street, in the Strand;

Mr SHIPLEY, Secretary to the new Society for Arts and Sciences,
in Craigs-Court, Westminster;

The Reverend Dr HALES, at *Teddington, in Middlesex;* or to

Their most Obliged,

and most Obedient,

Humble Servant,

Josiah Tucker,

Rector of St Stephen's in Bristol.

*Bristol,
July 10, 1755.*

W O S T S C R L P W

to be highly respected of those Gentlemen, and honorable for
the same who have their share in the same, and
will please to return them in two, or three Months time,
their Contributions, and Remittances in the same, (which are
delivered either to
The Reverend the Bishop, Secretary to the Royal Society, in
the City of London, in the Strand;
Mr. Secretary, Secretary to the new Society for Arts and Sciences
in Great Court, Westminster;
The Reverend Dr. Hales, at Tottenham, in Middlesex; or to

any other of the above mentioned Persons

and will be obliged

James Smith

John Tucker
Baker of the same in the City

END